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PRINCE HENRY
AND ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY ELKIN CALHOUN WILSON

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AND ENGLISH
LITERATURE

BY
ELKIN CALHOUN WILSON

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TO MY WIFE

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PREFACE

MOST STUDENTS of English history and literature know of the grief that overwhelmed England and Scotland when, in 1612, Prince Henry Frederick, first son of James I, died in the full promise of young manhood. Few, perhaps, have pondered his place in Jacobean culture. This book seeks to show the impress which Henry left upon the intellectual life of his day, especially upon its literature.

Materials for the book were not very tractable. Henry's brief and uneventful life invites from the biographer little more than an idealizing memoir such as Sir Charles Cornwallis wrote out of firsthand knowledge. In 1760 Thomas Birch, venerable antiquary, expanded the life of Henry into a full volume, sound but dull. His book embraces the relevant materials, but it is freighted with appendices and often discursive. Henry's life will not sustain a dramatic biography—unless fancy first embroiders upon fact. Nor can the historian of literature bring much unity and interest into a medley of complimentary poems, flattering dedications, and lugubrious elegies if he aligns them apart from the life that inspired them. To project an unwieldy body of verse and prose, I have written neither orthodox biography nor conventional literary history. Into the short and simple annals of Henry's life I have woven the tributes to him in literature, imaginative and otherwise, and glanced at the stimulus he gave to kindred arts. I am addressing the student of literary

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history, and using the appealing, if unexciting, chronicle of Henry's brief life as a framework to sustain the portrait of him in the books of his age.

The recent war forced me more than once to rely on a secondary source or to forego a direct look at a book or manuscript inaccessible in England; but I do not think there are important omissions in my materials. I have respected the spelling and punctuation of early titles when I have seen them, but ignored their capitals and italics. London is the place of publication unless another is noted. The crayon drawing of Prince Henry by Isaac Oliver is reproduced with the kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch.

My study began when I held a research fellowship in the Folger Shakespeare Library through the bounty of its trustees. Grants from the Trustee-Faculty Committee of Cornell University thereafter advanced my research. For individual kindnesses I wish to thank Mrs. Susanna B. Dakin, Miss Mary Isabel Fry, Mrs. Margery Kent, and Miss Fannie Ratchford; Messrs. J. Q. Adams, R. C. Bald, Lane Cooper, G. E. Dawson, Godfrey Davies, V. B. Heltzel, James Hutton, W. A. Jackson, F. R. Johnson, Max Molyneux, H. E. Rollins, L. M. Starke, C. R. Thompson, and F. B. Williams, Jr. I have also been generously aided by the staffs of the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, the Cornell University Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Harvard College Library, the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, the New York Public Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and the Wrenn Library of the University of Texas.

New York City
August 18, 1945

E. C. W.

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PART I

YOUTH

(1594-1609)

PRINCE HENRY FREDERICK was born at Stirling Castle between two and three o'clock on the morning of February 19, 1593-1594, four years after his father, James VI of Scotland, had married Anne, sister of Christian IV of Denmark. His birth "wes a great comfort and maiter of joy to the haill pepill, and movit thame to great triumphe, wantonnes and play, for beane fyres wer set out, and danc-ing and playing vsit in all pairtes, as gif the pepill had bein daft for mirthe." ¹ Andrew Melville, brilliant scholar and Presbyterian leader, celebrated the event in an elegant little poem predicting that the infant prince would unite the crowns of Britain and humble the pride of Spain and Rome:

Cœlestis aræ cornua numinis
Rorata summi sanguine sanciant
Scoto-Britannis asserenda
Vindicibus, patrioque marte

¹ David Moysie, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, ed. James Dennistoun for the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1830, p. 113.

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Claranda; fastu donec Iberico
Latè subacto sub pedibus premas,
Clarus triumpho delibuti
Gerionis, triplicem tiaram,
Qua nunc revinctus tempora Cerberus
Romanus atra conduplicat face
De rupe Tarpeia fragores
Tartareos tonitru tremendo:
Quo terram inertem, quo mare barbarum,
Orcúmque, & oras territat igneas,
Septem potitus verna sceptris
Et solio gemini Draconis.²

When he was baptized over six months later,³ Queen Elizabeth sent a high nobleman, Robert Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, to represent her at the ceremony.⁴ It was right that her spirit be near the font, for this prince, and not his father, was to inherit the deepest devotion of her subjects after

² *Principis Scoti-Britannorum natalia*, Edinburgh, 1594, sig. 2^v (partly quoted in Thomas M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, Edinburgh, 1899, p. 174).

³ The editor, David Masson, of *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Edinburgh, V (1882), 165 n., states that the baptism took place between August 30 and September 6, 1594. August 30 is usually accepted as the baptismal date, though Moysie writes: "The baptisme continovit to the first day of September, and the bancket beguid than that samyn day; bot because the Inglische embassadour wes not come in to the feird day at ewin, the solemne day wes continowit to the vj day, being ane Fryday. Quhilk day all thingis being maid radie, the Prince wes caried from his chalmer to the Chappell royall be the erle of Suffox [*sic*] and Mr. Bowis, embassadouris for the Queine of Ingland" (pp. 118-119).

⁴ See Henry's biographer, Thomas Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales, . . . Compiled Chiefly from his own Papers, and other Manuscripts*, 1760, pp. 2-3.

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she died in 1603. In standing godmother to the prince and giving him her father's name, she formed, too, a spiritual tie with that line of the royal blood destined to survive the turbulent seventeenth century: before his untimely death in 1612, Henry blessed the wedding of his beloved sister, Queen Elizabeth's godchild and namesake, who, as Elizabeth of Bohemia, was to be direct ancestress of the present reigning house.

The baptism took place in the afternoon in the chapel royal at Stirling Castle, rebuilt for the ceremony. The infant prince was first brought into the queen's presence chamber and laid in a stately bed. The dowager Countess of Mar handed the child to the Duke of Lennox, who presented him to the foreign ambassadors. The Earl of Sussex, first in rank as representing England's Elizabeth, then received the prince and bore him in his arms to the chapel royal, while others followed in order of rank. Lord Hume carried the ducal crown richly set with diamonds, sapphires, rubies, and emeralds; Lord Livingstone, the towel or napkin; Lord Seton, the basin; and Lord Semple, the laver with water. A guard made up of youths of Edinburgh stood on either side of the way, and trumpets sounded melodiously. When the train entered the chapel, the king rose from his seat and received the ambassadors at the choir. The prince was now delivered by Sussex to the Duke of Lennox, and by the duke to the Countess of Mar, who held him until the time of baptism. After all had properly stationed themselves, the ceremony began with a sermon in the Scottish tongue by Patrick Galloway, one of the king's ordinary ministers. Thereafter David Cunningham, bishop of Aberdeen, discoursed on the sacrament of baptism, first in the vulgar tongue and then in Latin so that his matter might be un-

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derstood by all the visiting ambassadors. After the musicians had sung the twenty-third psalm, the bishop asked the name of the prince, now back in the arms of Sussex; James responded, and the bishop baptized the infant as Frederick Henry, Henry Frederick, repeating the name three times. The heralds so proclaimed him and trumpets sounded. After the bishop had delivered in verse a eulogy of the prince and addressed the visiting ambassadors, James and his train returned to the prince's chamber as the cannons of the castle roared. In the king's hall James knighted Henry; the Earl of Mar touched him with the spur. James set the rich ducal crown upon the tiny head, and the lion herald proclaimed Henry knight and baron of Renfrew, lord of the Isles, earl of Carrick, duke of Rothesay, prince and great steward of Scotland. The ambassadors made rich presents of plate and gold chains and cups; hence James could afford to have gold and silver coins flung from the window to the people. Entertained by an elaborate show that disclosed Neptune, Thetis, and Triton in a gorgeous ship, the court and its guests feasted that night until three the next morning. Feasting, dancing, masking, and running at the ring absorbed both hosts and guests on into September.⁵

On January 25, 1594-1595, Margaret Masteroun, "mai-

⁵ Based on Birch's account (pp. 4-10) supplemented by *A true account of the most triumphant and royall accomplishment of the baptism of . . . Prince Henry Frederick, . . . as it was solemnized the 30. day of August, 1594*, published in *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts*, ed. Walter Scott, 1809, II, 171-182; John Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1851, II, 455-456; and David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, Edinburgh, V (1844), 342-346.

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stres nureis to the Prince, oure darrest sone," registered the letter of discharge which she received from James after faithful and careful service.⁶ From the month of his birth Henry had been entrusted to the care of John, second earl of Mar, and his mother, Dame Annabell Murray, dowager countess of Mar;⁷ and he resided with them at the royal castle of Stirling until May, 1603. Queen Anne disliked the arrangement; she became bitterly opposed to Mar. Perhaps influenced by his enemies, possibly ambitious for a party of her own in the kingdom, and naturally wanting her child, she attempted in 1595 to remove Henry from Mar's charge. James checked her by writing to Mar on July 24 to deliver the prince to no one "except I commande you with my awin mouth."⁸ Anne deferred to the will of a

⁶ *Register Privy Council of Scotland*, V, 200.

⁷ W. W. Seaton ("The Early Years of Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Charles, Duke of Albany [Charles I]," in the *Scottish Historical Review*, XIII [1916], 366-367) identifies the dowager countess with Mar's wife. He writes that Henry "was entrusted to the care of John, second Earl of Mar, and his wife, Dame Annabell Murray. That fact is conclusively shown by the Ordinance for the Nursing and Keeping of Prince Henry, dated February, 1593-4, published in the Earl of Mar's MSS." Seaton cites the *Hist. MSS. Comm. E. of Mar*, 1904, p. 39. But in the document referred to James gives the keeping of Henry to "his richt traist cousingnace, Dame Annabell Murray, Countesse of Mar, and of his richt traist cousing and counsellour, Johnne, Erll of Mar, Lord Erskin, hir sone." James five times refers to Mar as "hir sone." Birch, *DNB*, and other authorities do not confuse Mar's mother with his wife.

⁸ *Hist. MSS. Comm. E. of Mar*, pp. 43-44. James continued: "And in kayce God call me at any tyme that nather for Quene nor Estaites pleasure ye delyver him quhill he be auchtein yeiris of age and that he commande you himself."

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husband who was no doubt confident of his divine right to rule his wife as well as his realm. She moved from Edinburgh to Stirling to be near her son.

Annabell Murray, the dowager countess of Mar, who brought up Henry "even from his cradle," was "an ancient, vertuous and seuere Lady; . . . vvho kept all such as vvhere about him in avve: yet did hee not onely reverence her, but also loue her most dearly."⁹ She was "wise and sharp"; she even "held the King in great awe."¹⁰ Charged with the care of that royal personage during his own youth, she had looked to her duties "with the most unexceptionable propriety and delicacy."¹¹ She particularly had to watch over the prince's health. The state papers for 1595 mentioned that Henry was in poor health twice; and on December 15 George Nicolson wrote of the weakness of the infant.¹² But in spite of illness—even in spite of witches

⁹ W. H., *The true picture and relation of Prince Henry his noble and vertuous disposition, containing certaine observations and proofes of his towardy and notable inclination to vertue, of the pregnancie of his wit, farre above his age, comprehended in sundry of his witty and pleasant speeches*, Leyden, 1634, sigs. A2^v–A3. The author of this important "picture" of Henry declares that he had once "had the honour to bee one of the most illustrious Prince HENRY his servants," and that he writes to preserve the memory of the young prince's wit and virtue until someone shall write an adequate life (sig. A1^v). See below, p. 57 n. W. B. Rye (*England as Seen by Foreigners*, 1865, pp. 227–228) suggests that the author was "probably William Haydone, his Groom of the Bedchamber," who is listed in Birch, p. 451.

¹⁰ *Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill 1535–1617*, ed. A. F. Steuart, 1929, p. 230.

¹¹ M'Crie, p. 117.

¹² *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland*, ed. M. J. Thorpe, II (1858), 670, 678, 701.

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that in the summer of 1597 "swarm[ed] in thousands," "pestered" the king greatly, and confessed to practices against his life and that of the young prince¹³—the Countess of Mar had her charge safe and sound in July, 1599, ready to meet his tutor, Adam Newton, just chosen by James. Sir Charles Cornwallis declares that while Henry was still "in the hands of women" he gave "in this his tender age, by his wonderfull courage, infallible tokens of a *Noble and Heroick Spirit*." ¹⁴ Annabell Murray undoubtedly helped mold the "*Noble and Heroick Spirit*."

Adam Newton was a good man and an able scholar. And "next his parents," Henry "was alwayes most loving to his Schoolemaister . . . notwithstanding that . . . S^r. *Adam Newton* did alwayes preferre his owne dutie, and his Highnes well doing before the pleasing of his fancies." ¹⁵ Newton no doubt saw to it that Henry learned all the lessons that James in 1599 set out in his *Basilicon doron: or his majesty's instructions to his dearest sonne, Henry the prince*. That work was "divided into three books; the first instructing the prince in his duty towards God; the second in his duty when he should be King; and the third informing him how to behave himself in indifferent things, which were neither right nor wrong, but according as they were rightly or wrong [*sic*] used; and yet would serve, according to his behaviour, to increase or lessen his reputation and authority among the people." ¹⁶ A royal sonnet dedi-

¹³ Page 740.

¹⁴ *The life and death of ovr late most incomparable and heroique prince, Henry prince of Wales*, 1641, sig. A5^v. Sir Charles as treasurer of Henry's household, 1610-1612, knew the prince well, and is an authority on his life.

¹⁵ W. H., *The true picture*, sig. A3.

¹⁶ Birch, p. 16.

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cated the 1599 edition of *Basilicon doron*, of which only seven copies were privately printed in Edinburgh:

Lo heere (my Sonne) a mirrour viue and faire,
Which sheweth the shaddow of a worthy King.
Lo heere a Booke, a patterne doth you bring
Which ye should preasse to follow mair and maire.
This trustie friend, the tructh will neuer spaire,
But giue a good aduice vnto you heare:
How it should be your chiefe and princely care,
To follow vertue, vice for to forbear.
And in this Booke your lesson will ye leare,
For guiding of your people great and small.
Then (as ye ought) giue an attentiu eare,
And pause how ye these preceptes practise shall.
Your father bids you studie here and reede.
How to become a perfite King indeede.¹⁷

The English Solomon was no poet, but his didactic prose in *Basilicon doron* early fixed in Henry's mind Stuart notions about the lofty estate of a king.

On his eighth birthday in 1602 Newton's pupil addressed his father the king:

Rex serenissime & amantissime pater,

Ante biennium septimo scilicet meo natali ad maiestatem tuam
cœpi primum scribere, ut primos conatus meos, & quasi rudi-
menta scriptionis studiorumque meorum, tum temporis os-
tenderem.¹⁸

¹⁷ βασιλικὸν δῶρον. *Devided into three bookes*, Edinburgh, 1599, sig. [A2]. A dedicatory prose epistle appears on sigs. [A4]–B1. At least eight more editions were printed during the prince's lifetime—a Welsh one in 1604. See below, p. 20. British Museum MS. Royal 18 B. XV is a copy of *Basilicon doron* dedicated to Henry.

¹⁸ The letter is printed by Birch, p. 411. As early as September 1,

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Henry reports having read Terence's *Hecyra*, the *Fables* of Phaedrus, and two books of Cicero's *Select Epistles*. James probably suspected Newton's hand of guiding his student's: once after conceding his pleasure in "some progress" Henry was making, he said he longed "to receive a letter from you, that may be wholly yours, as well matter as form, as well formed by your mind as drawn by your fingers." ¹⁰

Andrew Melville's finished Latin verses had saluted Henry at his birth. Other laudatory Latin poems followed. Walter Quin, a Dubliner who had won James's favor soon after the prince's birth and who subsequently had been made a tutor to Henry and his brother Charles, celebrated Henry as Arthur's heir:

ANAGRAMMATA.

IN NOMEN ILLVSTRISSIMI PRINCIPIS.

HENRICVS FRIDERICVS STEVARTVS
ARTHVRI IN SEDE FVTVRVS CRESCIS

EPIGRA.

Innumeris proavis, quos ampla Britannia Reges,
Gallia quosq; habuit, nobilis orte puer;
Regum et quos coluit, cum Teutone, Cimber, Hibernus
Quos memoratq; suos, inclyta progenies,
Cælitvum munus, magnorum dulce parentum
Pignus, Regnorum spesq; decusque trium,

1600, Henry had sent a letter in French, "*les primices de nostre main*," to the States General of the United Provinces by his servant, Sir David Murray, in which he expressed his appreciation of their good will. It is summarized by Birch, pp. 20-21, from Harleian MS. 6986.

¹⁰ Birch, p. 36.

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Orbis flos, et honos, ARTHVRI IN SEDE FVTVRVVS
CRESCIS, id a superis nominis omen habes.
CRESCIS, vt occulto quam crescere cernimus æuo
Præcipuum nemoris planta futura decus.
Qui jam Principibus præfulget laude coævis,
Creuit in immensum sic pater ante tuus.
Ille tibi ARTHVRI sceptrum, cum sede, parabit;
Ille tibi morum, Regni erit ille typus.
Ocia longæuus populis cum fecerit ille,
Auxerit et Superûm clarus honore choros:
ARTHVRI solium scandes tu nomine nonus,
Invictaque`geres sceptrâ paterna manu:
Et patrem referes meritis, virtutibus, æuo:
Augurium euentu sit precor vsque ratum.²⁰

And John Johnston, one of the king's professors in the University of St. Andrews, wrote:

O multum optato seclorum sidete nate
MAGNE PUER, magni maxima cura Patris!
Magnanimum, invictumq; genus de sanguine divum,
Tot referens fortes stemmate utroq; Duces:
Disce recensitos, felicia sidera, Reges,
Fataq; & augustæ tot monimenta domus:
Vivida quid valeat Virtus, quæ Principes artes,
Quæq; prius fugias, quæq; imitere, legas.
Tu quoq; cum matura virum te fecerit ætas,
Versabis validâ Regia sceptrâ manu.
Sceptigerium servare genus, generisq; nepotes
SANCTE velis, patriæ cum populoq; Duces.²¹

²⁰ *Servum poeticum, in honorem Iacobi sexti*, Edinburgh, 1600, sig. B4^v. A Latin anagram poem to Henry follows on sig. C1. On sig. C1^v an English sonnet celebrates him as "FIERCE, HARDI, ERNEST, TRVE"; on sig. C2, a French one lauds him.

²¹ These verses were printed at the end (sig. H2^v) of Johnston's

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"Women being put from about his Highnesse" and Newton having been made his tutor, "divers of good sort were appointed to attend upon his Person." Of these the Earl of Mar was chief. Sir David Murray, a learned and accomplished person, was made first and only gentleman of the bedchamber. The earl and Sir David were assisted by "sundry Lords, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen." Sir Charles Cornwallis reports that now Henry "in the 7. 8. and 9. yeares of his Age, leaving those Childish and idle toyes, usuall to all of his yeares, . . . began to delight in more active, and manly exercises, learning to Ride, Sing, Dance, Leape, shoot at Archery, and in Peeces, to tosse his Pike, &c." ²² His skill, we are assured, won the admiration of all who beheld him. Two or three incidents suggest the child's courage and his generous spirit. Once he fell and hurt both hands severely, but though they bled, and "the smart which he felt wrung from him some teares: yet did he rise up in the meane time smyling, and as it were dissembling his hurt." Again, badly injured on the shin, he denied that anything ailed him and soon "ran up and downe playing as before." When he was "scarcely seauen yeares of age, a boy of good courage almost a yeare older" fell "by accident to buffets with him," but Henry got the upper hand

Inscriptiones historicae regum Scotorum, continuata annorum serie a Ferguso primo regni conditore ad nostra tempora, Amsterdam, 1602. A dedication to James (sig. *2) declares that the book is to instruct his son ("qui eam ætatem nunc ingreditur, quæ literas & disciplinæ cultum capere potest") in the virtues of a good prince. From St. Andrews on July 1, 1604, Johnston wrote a Latin letter to accompany a copy of the book to Henry and added a dedication to him. When Henry sent back a diamond, the professor addressed a *Carmen encomiasticum* to his highness (Birch, p. 47).

²² *The life and death*, sigs. A6-A6^v.

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and "loued the same boy euer after the better for his courage." When "verie young he tooke great delight in the sound of Drummes and Trumpets, yea and of his Pieces both small and great, beeing shot neare to him";²³ no music was "so pleasant in his cares, as the sounding of the Trumpet, the beating of the Drumme, the roaring of the Canon, no sight so acceptable, as that of the Pieces, Pistols, or any sort of Armour."²⁴ "Being asked very young what Instruments of Musicke hee liked best, he answered, a Trumpet."²⁵ Henry was early distinguished by courage and a love of sports and arms.

No wonder that Pope Clement VIII, shortly before the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, sought to have "in his power so important a pledge as the Prince." He offered to assist James with "such sums of money, as might secure and establish him in the throne of England" if he would transfer the education of Henry to his appointment.²⁶ James forever wanted "sums of money" but needed not Solomon's wisdom to send a negative answer to Rome.²⁷

Not that he was unconcerned about securing and establishing himself upon the throne of England. The hope of attaining that crown had long governed his actions. For many years Englishmen had vainly begged Elizabeth to give or to name them an heir. But she had wanted no rising sun to deflect loyalty from herself. At last, on the early

²³ W. H., *The true picture*, sigs. A3-A3^v.

²⁴ Cornwallis, *The life and death*, sig. A5^v.

²⁵ W. H., *The true picture*, sig. B2^v.

²⁶ Birch, p. 22.

²⁷ Venetian diplomats regarded James as breaking a pledge that he would educate Henry as a Roman Catholic (*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, X (ed. H. F. Brown, 1900), 87, 100, 227-228.



A crayon drawing of Prince Henry by Isaac Oliver in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch at Montagu House

From a photograph in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery

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morning of Thursday, March 24, 1603, as she lay dying, she willed that none but a king should succeed her. In Edinburgh on Saturday evening Sir Robert Carey, "be-bloodied with great falles and bruses" after a hard ride, roused James in his bedchamber, and told him the welcome news that he was that king.²⁸

On April 5 James and his train began the royal progress southward. But before setting out he addressed to Henry a letter lecturing him on the conduct that would befit the son of the monarch of Great Britain: "Let not this news make you proud or insolent; for a King's son and heir was ye before, and no more are ye now."²⁹ For good measure, he sent along a new edition of *Basilicon doron*. Henry replied in a Latin letter of felicitation and prayed God's care for his father. To his mother he spoke out:

And seeing by his Majesty's departing I will lose that benefit, which I had by his frequent visitation, I must humbly request your Majesty to supply that inlack by your presence, which I have the more just cause to crave, that I have wanted it so long, to my great grief and displeasure; to the end that your Majesty by sight might have, as I hope, the greater matter to love me; and I likewise may be encouraged to go forward in well doing, and to honour your Majesty with all due reverence, as appertains to me, who is

Your Majesty's
Most obedient, and
Dutiful Son,
HENRY.³⁰

²⁸ John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, 1828, I, 56. Sir Robert may have been behind a certain George Marshall with the news. See S. R. Gardiner, *History of England*, I (1883), 86-87.

²⁹ The letter is printed in Birch, pp. 25-26.

³⁰ The letters are printed in Birch, pp. 412, 28.

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Anne needed not these appealing words from her son; she was ready enough to claim him, for she had constantly sought his custody.⁸¹ But James had left orders for her to follow him about twenty days after his departure, and to let the prince remain at Stirling. Anne, who had a head of her own, if a frivolous one, now went herself to Stirling to fetch Henry with her to England. The Earl of Mar was already with his master, but the old countess and others attending the prince refused to deliver him. Anne's anger and grief threw her into a fever that resulted in a miscarriage.⁸² James, informed of these troubles, ordered Mar to return swiftly to Scotland "with full commission to the queene to goe to England." Anne "would not look upon him," nor would he yield up his letters from the king "unlesse he gott presence to discharge his secreit commissioun." Both dispatched letters to James, who sent the Duke of Lennox to resolve the impasse. Finally the council at Holyrood formally gave Anne her son after Lennox had arrived on May 19, commended the good service of Mar and his mother, and declared that Mar had a commission to transport both the queen and the prince. On May 31 Anne and Henry rode in a coach from Holyrood House to the Great Kirk of Edinburgh with a train of ladies upon fair horses. "Great was the confluence of people flocking to see the prince." On June 2 Anne began her journey to England accompanied by Henry, Lennox, and various noblemen. The little princess Elizabeth, sick the night before, soon followed her mother and brother. She traveled slowly and

⁸¹ *State Papers Relating to Scotland*, II, 809.

⁸² See Birch, p. 29; Calderwood, VI (1845), 231; and *State Papers, Venetian*, X, 40, 42.

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overtook them at fixed stopping places where they tarried to attend entertainments. Anne's other son, frail Charles, born on November 19, 1600, was left in Scotland in the care of Alexander Seton, Lord Fyvie.³³

Scotland mourned the departure of Anne and Henry in "Calidons complaint at the apparent voyage to her England of Anna queene of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland: with Henrie prince of Wales, her most gracious sonne":

Faire gracious Dame, whose match nor was, nor shall be seene,
Though fortune smile, remēber yet that thou was first our
 Queene
Accompleisd peereles Prince in body both and mind,
Thinke on thy natiue soyle with loue, and be not cald vnkind:
And so since King, Queene, Prince, and all our all must go,
The Trinitie aboue preserue this Trinitie be-low.³⁴

But when Anne, Henry, and Elizabeth were welcomed by Sir Robert Spencer at Althorp on June 25, Calidon was

³³ Based on Calderwood, VI, 230-232.

³⁴ Alexander Craig, *The poeticall essayes*, 1604, sig. C3^v. Scotland bade farewell in another poem: Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton in 1603 offered his *Ad serenissimum Britanniarum principem Henricum à Scotia discedentem, propempticon* (reprinted in *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum hujus ævi illustrum*, Amsterdam, 1637, I, 241-251). Sir Thomas begs Henry to delay his departure from his native land and replies to attacks on rude and simple Scottish manners that the prince may hear at the English court. He urges Henry to cultivate virtues that will prepare him for his lofty destiny, and holds up youthful Hercules and Achilles, then Alexander and Caesar, as examples for him to imitate. Henry should possess the hearts of his subjects rather than arouse their fears. (See Patrick F. Tytler, *An Account of the Life and Writings of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton*, Edinburgh, 1823, pp. 188-193.)

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surely as much out of mind as out of sight; for Queen Mab, a satyr, and a bevy of fairies met them in the park. After a dialogue and song the host's young son, John Spencer, dressed as a huntsman, was introduced to the prince by the satyr's graceful verses; and a hunt followed.³⁵ On Monday afternoon, June 27, a second parting speech, "*hindred*" by "*reason of the multitudinous presse*," ended in a gracious compliment to Henry:

And you deare Lord, on whom my couetous eye
Doth feed it selfe, but cannot satisfie,
O shoot vp fast in spirit, as in yeares;
That when vpon her head proud *Europe* weares
Her stateliest tire, you may appeare thereon
The richest gem, without a paragon.
Shine bright and fixed as the Artick starre:
And when slow Time hath made you fit for warre,
Looke ouer the strict Ocean, and thinke where
You may but lead vs forth, that grow vp here
Against a day, when our officious swords
Shall speake our action better then our words.
Till then, all good euent conspire to crowne
Your parents hopes, our zeale, and your renowne.
Peace vsher now your steps, and where you come,
Be *Enuie* still strooke blind, and *Flatterie* dumbe.³⁶

Ben Jonson's verses recall his graceful tribute to Henry's godmother Elizabeth in *Cynthia's Revels*.³⁷

³⁵ E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Oxford, 1923, III, 391.

³⁶ *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson, Oxford, VII (1941), 130-131.

³⁷ The godson was saluted in university anthologies that grieved for Eliza and welcomed her successor: see *Academiae Oxoniensis pietas erga serenissimum et potentissimum Iacobum . . . beatissimæ*

YOUTH

In "all places wheresoeuer they arriued" Anne, Henry, and Elizabeth were "most ioyfully receiued, and entertained in as louing, duteous, and honourable manner, as all Cities, Townes, and particular Knights, and Gentlemen had formerly done vnto the Kings most excellent Maies-
tie." ³⁸ Samuel Daniel's *A panegyrike congratulatory deliueured to the Kings most excellent maiesty at Burleigh Harrington in Rutlandshire* had already hailed a queen with heirs that assured union and peace:

Chaste Mother of our Princes, whence do grow
Those righteous issues, which shall glorifie
And comfort many Nations with their worth,
To her perpetuall grace that brought them forth.³⁹

And Sir John Savile in a salutatory poem to James had rejoiced that England now had a prince.

Clap hands, sing Iö, chaunged is your gouernment,
Our Kings dearest sonn's, your Prince, your Presidēt,
Saint *Dauid* ring, for ioy set up your lecke,
Your praier's heard, you haue got, you long did seeke

Brauc *Henrie Fredericke*, that Imperiall name,
I gesse from his Natuutie foretold the same,
Thrice happie in his threefold name are you,
Henrie bould *Fredericke* is a *Steward* true,

Elisabethæ nuper reginæ legitimè & auspicatissimè succedentem, Oxford, 1603, sigs. G5-G5^v, H4-H4^v, L6-L6^v, M7; and *Threnothrianbeuticon. Academiæ Cantabrigiensis ob damnum lucrosum, & infælicitatem fælicissimam, luctuosus triumphus*, Cambridge, 1603, sigs. B3^v, B7.

³⁸ John Stow, *Annales*, 1631, sig. Zzz3^v.

³⁹ *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, ed. A. B. Grosart, I (1885), 162.

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How well these titles with your names agree
You almost all (at least possessing) three,
Welcome then hartely, welcom braue Prince Henrie,

Sing Carrols for his sake, keepe wakes, bee merrie.⁴⁰

On June 27 James met his queen and children at Sir George Fermor's at Easton Neston. After rich entertainment there, the royal party was welcomed at Grafton "with speeches and delicate presents"; then at Salden in Muresly, at Aylesbury, Hampden, and Great Missenden.⁴¹

James had deferred the feast of St. George until July 2, when he was to be at home in Windsor. Then Henry was enstalled Knight of the most Noble order of the Garter: and after that being in his robes presented vnto the Qucenes Maiestie, and whilest he was in the Chamber with her, . . . the Earles of Nottingham, & Northampton highly commend[ed] him for diuers his quicke wittie answeres, Princely carriage, and reuerend performing his obeyzance at the Altar, all which seemed very strange vnto them, and the rest of the beholders, considering his tender age, being vntill then altogether vnacquainted with the matter and manner thereof.⁴²

The next month the Venetian secretary, reporting his visit to the prince at Oatlands, described this ten-year-old Garter knight as "little of body, and quick of spirit. He is ceremonious beyond his years, and with great gravity he cov-

⁴⁰ *King Iames his entertainment at Theobalds: with his welcome to London, together with a salutatorie poeme*, 1603, sigs. C3-C3^v. Wales greeted her prince and his sire in forty stanzas from the pen of John Davies of Hereford which prefaced his *Microcosmos* in 1603 (*The Complete Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 1878, II, 19-22).

⁴¹ Chambers, IV, 117.

⁴² Stow, sig. Zzz5.

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ered and bade me be covered. Through an interpreter he gave me a long discourse on his exercises, dancing, tennis, the chase. He then himself conducted me down one flight of stairs and up another to visit the Princess. . . . They both said they meant to learn Italian.”⁴³

The plague forced a postponement of the coronation progress through London, scheduled for July 25, until March 15 of the following year. It drove the royal family from the city throughout the autumn of 1603. Late in July at Oatlands in Surrey Henry was given a house by himself and “so many to attend upon him in every Office, as was thought fitting for his yeares.”⁴⁴ Sir Thomas Chaloner was made its governor. By the end of the year one hundred and forty-one servants comprised Henry’s household. His sister Elizabeth shared the establishment with him. Soon after being installed at Oatlands, Henry was moved to Nonsuch. From there he sent a letter dated September 23 to the queen assuring her that he had been falsely reported ill. Before Michaelmas he had moved from Nonsuch to Hampton Court. There “he resided chiefly till about Michaelmas of the year following, when he returned to house-keeping, his servants having in the interval been put to board-wages.”⁴⁵ Some time before October 17 James summoned him from Nonsuch to Winchester, where Anne welcomed him with the first of her many masks.⁴⁶

Despite his shifts in residence during the autumn of 1603, Henry began “to ply his Booke hard for two or three years, continuing all his Princely Sports, Hawking, Hunting, run-

⁴³ *State Papers, Venetian*, X, 74.

⁴⁴ Cornwallis, *The life and death*, sig. A7^v.

⁴⁵ Birch, p. 35.

⁴⁶ Chambers, IV, 117. No details concerning it have survived.

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ning at the Ring, Leaping, riding of great Horses, Dauncing, Fencing, tossing of the Pike, &c. In all which, he did so farre excell as was fitting for so great a Prince; whereby, together with his continuall travaile, being ever in action, he came to have a very active and strong body; so that then he would many times tyre all his followers before he himselfe would be weary.”⁴⁷

No doubt a major book in Henry’s education was his father’s *Basilicon doron*. Before the year 1603 ended a curious offshoot of it had been dedicated to the prince: William Willymat’s *A princes looking glasse, or a princes direction, very requisite and necessarie for a Christian prince, to view and behold himselfe in, containing sundrie, wise, learned, godly and princely precepts and instructions, excerpted and chosen out of that most Christian, and vertuous βασιλικὸν δῶρον, or his maiesties instructions to his dearest sonne Henrie the prince, and translated into Latin and English verse . . . for the more delight and pleasure of the said prince now in his young yeares*. Toward the end of the volume Henry read:

Certaine epithets, and excellent
titles wherewith Iulius Pollux, who was gouernour to
Emperour *Commodus* in his young yeares, set
forth and described the properties of a good
King, applied to the name of *Henrie*
Fredericke the most noble
Prince of Wales.

⁴⁷ Cornwallis, *The life and death*, sigs. A7^v–A8. The chronology is chiefly that of Birch, p. 35. Cornwallis (sig. A7^v) notes the Winchester visit (as Birch does not), has Henry return thence to Oatlands, and says nothing of Hampton Court.

YOUTH

H is knowledge must in making lawes excell,
E ach one must easie accesse to him finde
N o passions strong within his heart may dwell,
R ight willing to do good with princely minde.
I ustice to all he must alike maintaine
E xceeding affable to poorest swaine.

P rouding things that bring his people gaines,
R eadie to profit all of each degree,
I ndustrious, deuote to restlesse paines,
N oble in minde, from feare of fortune free;
C ourteous in gesture to his subiects all,
E uer constant not tossing like a ball.

O ne and the same, not turning once aside,
F raught with religion pure by scriptures tri'd.

W ith watchfull eie respecting subiects weale,
A ffaires dispatching with conuenient speede,
L abouring for peace where discord doth preuaile.
E xceeding slowe to take reuenge indeed,
S kilfull in princely duties to proceed.⁴⁸

That Henry was plying "his Booke hard" when 1604 came in is suggested by a Latin letter to the king and an English one to the queen. With the first went the following verses in which his tutor no doubt aided:

Ad Regem Carmen.

Mi pater, & sacrâ Rex Majestate verende,
Qua pater omnipotens & celsi Rector Olympi
Fronte solet, micamve salis, vel thuris odorem,

⁴⁸ Sig. M₃^v. There follows, "The author his vale to the young Prince Henrie," "*young impe of Brittish soyle the stay.*"

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Aut mulsum & violas, inopis libamina dextræ,
Accipere, et locupletem ipsis præferre hecatombis;
Hac cape fronte meæ tenuis primordia Musæ,
Vota quibus fundo ad Dominum, ut feliciter annus,
Incipiat, multo fælicius exeat, huncque
Perpetuâ serie fælicia sæc'la sequantur.⁴⁹

In the new year's letter to his mother he enclosed one of the *Quatrains* written by Guy du Faur de Pibrac in imitation of Cato's distiches. He declared that, should she approve of it, he would seek before the end of the year to learn by heart the whole book of quatrains.⁵⁰

About January 15, 1604, the Lord Admiral commanded Phineas Pett, master shipwright, to construct with all possible speed a little ship for Henry, "to be garnished with painting and carving both within board and without very curiously." This ship "for the amusement of the Prince, and his instruction in the business of shipping and sailing, for which he afterwards shewed a strong inclination,"⁵¹ marks the beginning of his interest in the English navy. Pett kept at his task even at night by torch and candlelight, and launched the ship on March 6 with drums and trumpets sounding. On March 14 Henry and the Lord Admiral "came and took great pleasure in beholding of the ship, being furnished at all points with ensigns and pendants." On the afternoon of March 22 Pett received the prince, who christened his ship the *Disdain* with a great bowl of

⁴⁹ Birch, pp. 413-414. James no doubt suspected Newton's assistance in the plucking of these "first fruits." See Birch, pp. 36-37, and above, p. 9.

⁵⁰ Birch, pp. 37-38.

⁵¹ Page 38.

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wine. He rewarded Pett by making him his servant "with many promises of his princely favour to me," and appointed him captain of the miniature vessel.⁵²

In the spring of 1604 the chief interest for the court was the brilliant coronation progress through London. The king, Anne, and Henry enjoyed a spectacular lion-baiting at the Tower on March 13. "The two first dogs dyed within few dayes, but the last Dog was well recouered of all his hurts, & the yong Prince commaunded his seruant Ed. Allen to bring the dog to him to Saint Iames, where the Prince charged the sayd Allen to keepe him, and make much of him, saying, hce that had fought with the King of beasts, should neuer after fight with any inferiour creature."⁵³ On March 15 James, Anne, and Henry, "attended with glorious troupes of great Peeres, Prelates, and Courtiers," rode

in triumph through the City of *London* to *Westminster*, the houses beautified with rich hangings, the streets adorned with goodly Trophees and Pageantes, of seuerall nations inhabiting, the rayles on both sides couered with blew cloth, the seuerall Companies honourably addressed, and ranked vnder the displayed Ensignes and Armes of their seuerall Trades and Sciences; the one shewing the wealth and state of the City; the other, the body of the Citizens and gouernement, and all making manifest the vnspeakeable ioy they conceiued to receiue their great Soueraigne into this His City and Imperiall Chamber. In pledge of which their excessiue ioy, vnfained loue, and vowed fidelity, the *Recorder* at the Crosse in Cheape, both gratulated his Maiesty with a pithy speech in the name of the City, and wish-

⁵² *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett*, ed. W. G. Perrin, in *Publications of the Navy Records Society*, LI (1918), 21-23.

⁵³ Stow, sig. Aaaa4.

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ing him a golden raigne, presented his Greatnesse with a cuppe of gold; deliuering another likewise to the Queene, and a third to the Prince, which were all no lesse graciously accepted, then most louingly presented.⁵⁴

The procession advanced through seven handsome arches or gates erected for the occasion.⁵⁵

Three distinguished poets give glimpses of the "young hopeful Henry Fredericke, or Fredericke Henry, Prince of Wales, . . . [who,] smiling as over-joyde to the people's eternall comfort, saluted them with many a bende."⁵⁶ Thomas Dekker did the speeches for several coronation pageants; Jonson, for three of them.⁵⁷ Jonson has Genius address Anne:

Glory of queenes, and glory of your name,
Whose graces doe as farre out-speake your fame,
As fame doth silence, when her trumpet rings
You daughter, sister, wife of seuerall kings:

⁵⁴ John Speed, *The history of Great Britain*, 1611, sigs. Qqqqqq1^v-Qqqqqq2. Cf. Stow, sig. Aaaa4.

⁵⁵ See Stephen Harrison, *The archs of triumph erected in honor of the high and mighty prince. James*, 1604.

⁵⁶ Gilbert Dugdale, *The time triumphant*, in Nichols, I, 416. William Barlow gives a glimpse of Henry in an earlier state appearance on the second day of the Hampton Court Conference in January, 1604: "The Kings maiestie entering the Chamber, presētly tooke his Chaire, placed as the day before, (the noble young *Prince*, sitting by vppon a stoole,) . . . making a short, but a pitthy and sweet speech" (*The summe and substance of the conference*, . . . at Hampton Court, 1604, sigs. D3-D3^v).

⁵⁷ See Chambers, IV, 69-70. There are passing allusions to Henry in Dekker's Latin oration addressed to James (*The Dramatic Works*, pub. John Pearson, 1873, I, 315-316). The gold cups were presented after it was spoken.

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Besides alliance, and the stile of mother,
In which one title you drowne all your other.
Instance, be that faire shoote, is gone before,
Your eldest ioy, and top of all your store.⁵⁸

In *A pæan triumphall* Michael Drayton describes the happy throng of people, the rich decorations, and Anne's "faire shoote":

When now approched glorious Majestie,
Under a gold-wrought sumptuous Canopie.
Before him went his goodly glittering traine,
Which though as late wash'd in a golden raine.
All so embrauded that to those behold,
Horses as men, seem'd to be made of Gold:
With the faire Prince, in whom appear'd in glory,
As in th' abridgement of some famous story,
Ev'ry rare vertue of each famous King
Since *Norman Williams* happie conquering:
Where might be scene in his fresh blooming hopes,
Henry the fifth leading his warlike troupes,
When the proud French fell on that conquered land,
As the full Corne before the labourers hand.
Ushering so bright and Angellike a Queene,
Whose gallant carridge had but *Cynthia* seene,
She might have learnd her silver brow to beare,
And to have shin'd and sparckl'd in her speare,
Leading her Ladies on their milkie Steedes,
With such aspect that each beholder feedes,
As though the lights and beauties of the skies,
Transcending dwelt and twinckled in their eies.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Jonson*, VII, 94.

⁵⁹ *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. W. Hebel, Oxford, I (1931), 481.

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St. George's Day was kept by the Garter knights. After chapel services Prince Henry and the king banqueted with the knights and received the Spanish and French ambassadors.⁶⁰ In July James appointed St. James Palace for the residence of the prince and issued orders that stables and barns for his service be built there.⁶¹ Next month, when Henry danced and showed his skill at pike exercises and horsemanship at the request of the constable of Castile, that gentleman tactfully made him a present of a richly caparisoned pony.⁶² Henry's love of horses often emerges in the records of his life.⁶³

Before the coronation year ended various literary men were lauding Henry. William Harbert concluded *A prophesie of Cadwallader, last king of Brittaines* with "A Poeme to the yong Prince" which assured him that

in *Wales* thine eyes shall see,
Thousands that will both liue and dye with thee.⁶⁴

The descent "from *Noah, by diuers direct lynes* to Brutus, *first Inhabiter of this Ile of Brittaines*; and from him to *Cadwalader, the last King of the Brittainish bloud; and from thence, sundry wayes to his Maiesty*," and to his prince, was persuasively traced for patriots by George Owen Harry in *The genealogy of the high and mighty monarch, James*.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ *State Papers, Venetian*, X, 149.

⁶¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I*, ed. M. A. E. Green, I (1857), 132, 135.

⁶² *State Papers, Venetian*, X, 178.

⁶³ See below, pp. 40, 41, 54, 61-63, 172.

⁶⁴ Sig. I2^v.

⁶⁵ From the title page (1604).

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Thomas Murray brought Henry into even more distinguished company:

*Magne Puer, magnis procreate Heroibus; Heros
Major &, O! atavis ipse future tuis.
O decus eximium sceptri! O spes fida Parentis!
O Mundi! O Patriæ gloria summa tuæ!
Tu cœlo quidquid magnum est; tu quidquid in isto
Orbe fuit magnum, jam Puer unus habes:
Magnus in augusto nam splendet Iuppiter ore,
Mars, Venus, in facie Phæbus & ipse tua.
Ipse tuâ nobis describitur indole Cyrus,
Cum Puer Astyagem visere gaudet avum;
Ingenio Magnusq; tuo, presente Phillipo,
Cum domat indomitum pulverulentus equum.
Numinibus si vis ulla est cælestibus; olim
Si Cyro, & Magno gloria magna fuit,
Crede, tuis sub te veniet permagna Britannis
Gloria, quesito sortiter Imperio;
Gloria non Græcis domitis, Persisve, Syrisve;
Gloria Romano sed pereunte Lupo.
Nec mirum hoc; Fati effatum est immobile summi,
Scotia Romanum finiet Imperium.
Inde fit, ut Scotici sit tandem, Henrice, Leonis
Splendida, Romanus, præda futura, Lupus.⁶⁶*

Henry was remembered in various prayers.⁶⁷ He will help unify Britain—

⁶⁶ *Navpactiados, sive Lepantiados Iacobi Magni, Britanniarum, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ . . . metaphrasis poetica*, 1604, sig. E4.

⁶⁷ See, for example, William Hubbocke, *An oration gratulatory to the high and mighty lames of England*, 1604, sig. B4^v; Robert Pricket, *Honors fame in triumph riding*, 1604, sig. D4^v; and the same author's *A souldiers vvish vnto his soveraigne lord King lames*, 1603, sig. C2.

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SITH GOD HATH MADE AL VNDER ONE,
LET ALBIONE NOV V AL-BE-ONE.⁶⁸

England's welcome to Henry resounds in William Alexander's *A parænesis to the prince*. Poor verse, it yet reveals the intense hope that nothing will mar the fruition of his promise:

O happie *Henrie*, that art highly borne,
Yet beautifiest thy birth with signes of worth,
And though a child, all childish toyes doest scorne,
To show the world thy vertues budding forth,
Which may by time this glorious yle adorne,
And bring eternall Trophees to the North:
While as thou doest thy fathers forces leade,
And art the hand, while he is the head.

Thou like that gallant thunderbolt of warre,
Third *Edwards* sonne, that was so much renown'd,
Shalt shine in valour as the morning starre,
And plenish with thy praise the peopled round.
But like to his, let nought thy fortune marre,
Who in his fathers time did die vncrown'd.
Long liue thy Syre, so all the world desires;
But longer thou; so natures course requires.

.
And ô how this (deare Prince) the people charmes,
That flocke about thee whiles in ravis'd bands,
To see thee young, yet manage so thine armes,
And haue *Mineruaes* mind, *Bellonaes* hands.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Robert Port, *De vnione Britanniae*, Edinburgh, 1604, sig. E7.

⁶⁹ Sigs. B1, C4. There is no dedicatory epistle, but the first of its eighty-four stanzas offers the poem to the prince.

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In 1604 this paragon of princes "began now to be considered by men of learning, as a proper patron of their works, not only for his high rank, but likewise his relish for them." ⁷⁰ Thomas Winter dedicated to him *The third dayes creation*, "verse for verse out of the originall French" of the Huguenot Du Bartas. He remembered "your gracefull embracing of my former Essay of this verie nature, coming but accidentally vnto your hands." ⁷¹ William Willymat testified to Henry's patronage in offering *A loyal subiects looking-glasse, or a good subiects direction, necessary and requisite for euery good Christian*:

The late gracious acceptance, most worthy yong Prince (with so prompt & welwilling hand, so amiable and pleasant a countenance, and so kinde and courteous words,) of those mine hastie and bold attempted labours, in translating into Latin and English verse the seuerall Precepts and Instructions of our dread Soueraigne your Fathers Maiesties ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, for your owne sake, . . . that Princes Looking-glasse . . . so benignly accepted of, hath animated and encouraged me once againe, to publish vnder your Graces Patrocinie, an other Looking-glasse, to wit, this present Loyall Subiects Looking-glasse.

He asks acceptance "according to your former clemencie," and prays that Henry will live for the "aduancement of Gods honour and glory." ⁷² Thomas Wilcocks in his edition of Philippe de Mornay, *A vvorke concerning the trunesse of Christian religion* (the translation begun by Sir Philip Sidney and finished by Arthur Golding), looks to Henry as

⁷⁰ Birch, p. 44.

⁷¹ Sig. A2^v.

⁷² Sigs. A2-A2^v.

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one made "chiefly for the Churches, good."⁷³ In *A souldiers wishe to Britons welfare*, Barnabe Rich declares that "although all the giftes of Fortune are to be despised in respect of learning, yet in a Prince, there is nothing so glorious as to be called a great Captaine, or a worthy Souldier." Then he offers Henry his "vnlettered diligence," the fruit of his forty years as a warrior.⁷⁴ No doubt Bellona's child welcomed this soldier's book, and also *Observations vpon Cæsars commentaries setting forth the practise of y^e art militarie in the time of the Romaine empire for the better direction of our moderne wars*, which Sir Clement Edmondes presented, in part because "those manie principles of warre which his Maiestie hath set downe by way of precept to informe you, are here confirmed by Cæsars example, and proued at large frō the true grounds of that Art, according to the practise of the best discipline."⁷⁵ The dedications to Henry in 1604 either suggest England's delight in his love of martial sports or hail him as the hope of reformed religion.

But books receded into the background during the brilliant Christmas and new year's season of 1604-1605. The players who were celebrated under Queen Elizabeth as the Admiral's Men had continued after her death to act at the

⁷³ Dedicated on sigs. A3-A4^v. The dedication remains in the edition of 1617.

⁷⁴ Dedicated on sigs. A3-A3^v. The second part of *A souldiers wishe*, entitled *The frvites of long experience*, and also printed in 1604, was likewise offered (sigs. A3-A3^v) to Henry.

⁷⁵ Sig. f3^v. The 1609 edition of the *Observations* carries a new dedication to Henry. Caesar, "in the deepe ludgement of his most excellent Maiesty, is preferd aboue all other profane histories; and so, commended, by his sacred Authoritie, to your reading, as a cheefe paterne and Maister-peece of the Art of warre" (sig. A2).



The title page of Sir Clement Edmond's *Observations vpon Cæsars comentaries*, 1609

From a copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library

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Fortune theater until May 5, 1603, when they "left off play now at the King's coming."⁷⁶ Henry had taken the Admiral's Men under his patronage after they had spent a short interval partly in the provinces because of the plague. In the early spring of 1604 they had resumed playing at the Fortune under their new name, "The Prince's Servants,"⁷⁷ and were now appearing there. Court performances by the Prince's Servants and the King's Men, masks, and revels preceded the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere which was celebrated at Whitehall on St. John's Day "*with all the Honour could be done a great Favourite*. The Court was great, and for that Day put on the best Bravery. The *Prince* and *Duke of Holst* led the *Bride to Church*. . . . The Marriage Dinner was kept in the great Chamber, where the *Prince* and the *Duke of Holst*, and the great Lords and Ladies accompanied the Bride. . . . At Night there was a Mask in the Hall, which for Conceit and Fashion was suitable to the Occasion."⁷⁸ Thus did plays and a court wedding usher in Henry's new year.⁷⁹

On August 27 James and Anne, after a summer progress begun on July 16, arrived with their son at Oxford to enter him at Magdalen College. Christ Church lodged James and Anne; Magdalen, Henry and his retainers. The dean of Christ's, Dr. John King, presented the visitors with a volume of congratulatory verses full of the conventional compliments; the mayor gave a cup to each of the royal trio; and the vice-chancellor gave "to the young Prince a paire of

⁷⁶ *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. W. W. Greg, 1904, I, 174.

⁷⁷ J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, New York, 1917, pp. 281-282.

⁷⁸ Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State*, 1725, II, 43.

⁷⁹ Cf. *State Papers, Venetian*, X, 206.

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gloues.”⁸⁰ Verses honoring him were affixed to the walls and gates of the college. Various Oxford men collaborated in a book of verse that celebrated the royal visit.⁸¹ The “Peoples darling and the delight of Mankind” was now matriculated in the university, and John Wilkinson, then fellow of Magdalen and afterwards president of the college, was appointed to be his tutor.⁸² After being entertained by disputations, Henry returned to the king at Christ Church to see a Latin comedy acted in the evening by the men of that college.⁸³ The next day Henry heard disputations in divinity and civil law in St. Mary’s church; that night he saw the tragedy *Ajax flagellifer* acted by men from various colleges. The third day he heard a disputation on “whether children imbibe the[ir] temper with the milk of their nurses,” and another about the use of tobacco, to which James had a notorious aversion. That evening Henry dined at Magdalen:

He sat alone in the midst of the upper table, the noblemen and courtiers in the middle of the hall, and the fellows and students in their habits on both sides of it, whom, with great civility, he obliged to put on their square caps; and, calling for a bowl

⁸⁰ Anthony Nixon, *Oxfords triumph*, 1605, sig. A4^v. Nichols (I, 530 ff.) prints a similar account of the visit from Harleian MS. 7044, fol. 201.

⁸¹ See *Musa hospitalis ecclesiae Christi Oxon. In adventum faelicissimum Sereniss. Iacobi regis, Annae reginae, & Henrici principis ad eandem ecclesiam*, Oxford, 1605.

⁸² Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1721, I, col. 173 (*Fasti Oxonienses*).

⁸³ Four plays, of which only Gwynne’s *Vertumnus, sive annus recurrens* survives, were staged for the entertainment of the royal visitors. The one Henry saw on the evening of August 27 was variously named *Alba* and *Vertumnus*, and written in part by Robert Burton. See Chambers, I, 130.

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of wine, drank to all their healths, professing his high regard for the college, and that he should always remember their kindness and hospitality.⁸⁴

Straightway he was given a manuscript of Pandulphus Colenucius' *Apologues* richly bound and adorned with gold and pearls, two pairs of gloves, and a book of verses, beautifully written in foreign languages.⁸⁵ That same night he saw at St. John's Dr. Matthew Gwynne's *Vertummus, sive annus recurrens*, a different play from the one acted two nights before at Christ Church.⁸⁶ On the fourth day Samuel Daniel's *Arcadia reformada* (afterwards published as *The queen's Arcadia*) was presented to Anne, her ladies, and Prince Henry at Christ Church. James, Anne, and Henry left the university after dinner. A full account of the visit by Isaac Wake, *Rex Platonivus: sive, de potentissimi principis Iacobi Britanniarum regis, ad illustrissimam academiam Oxoniensem, adventu, Aug. 27. Anno. 1605* (printed in 1607), was dedicated to Henry.⁸⁷ Wake declared that the university had been delighted with his "temper and genius." A letter to Henry, written by the timeserving Earl of Northampton not long before the visit to Oxford, flattered him and asked him not to forget that Cambridge, Northampton's alma mater, merited Henry's affection "according to the laws of copartionery in this land."⁸⁸

The sensational Gunpowder Plot that aimed to blow up

⁸⁴ Birch, pp. 52-53.

⁸⁵ British Museum MS. Royal 12 C. VIII is a presentation volume from the president of Magdalen College, 1605.

⁸⁶ This play, printed in 1607, was dedicated (sigs. A2-B2^v) to Henry in an extensive Latin epistle that concludes with laudatory verses in Latin.

⁸⁷ Sigs. 13-14^r.

⁸⁸ I have followed the outline of the visit in Birch, pp. 48-57.

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king, queen, prince, and the chief men of the government on November 5, 1605, shocked the nation into a still deeper affection for the heir to its throne. Francis Herring's *Pietas pontificia, seu, conjurationis illius prodigiosæ, et post natos homines maximè execrandæ, in Iacobum primū . . . principem Henricum, totamque familiam regiam* (1606) tells of the plot "to have put out and quite extinguished the lights of Israel in one day." Protestants cherished anew "that Prince of admirable hope,"⁸⁹ preserved by God. An ardent Protestant minister, Leonell Sharpe, chaplain to the prince, at once wrote a Latin letter to him moralizing the plot for his edification and enlightening him about the designs of viperous Jesuits.⁹⁰ Lord Spencer of Althorp felicitated him; so did Frederick, Count Palatine, then in his tenth year, who was destined to marry Henry's sister Elizabeth.⁹¹ On "Saturday the ninth of Nouember, the King, Queene, and Prince, with all the Nobility, and Commons, went to the Parliament house, where in the presence of the Lords spirituall and Temporall, and Commons of the Parliament, and of the Ambassadors of Spaine, and the Archdukes, the King made an excellent Oration, wherein hee fully exprest the whole nature, and practise of the Treason, and the state and quality of the Traytors."⁹²

The delight of the people in the preservation of their king

⁸⁹ I quote this phrase from a translation into English verse, *Popish pietie*, 1610, sig. A4^v. British Museum MS. Royal 12 A. XIX is *Venatio Catholica, seu pietatis pontificiæ pars secunda* (a continuation from the arrest of Fawkes to his execution). It is dedicated to Henry, and was printed with a revised edition of the *Pietas* in 1609.

⁹⁰ The letter is printed in Birch, pp. 414-416.

⁹¹ See Birch, p. 64.

⁹² Stow, sig. Eeee2.

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and prince echoed in the press for two or three years. William Hubbard in *Great Brittaines resurrection: or the parliaments passing bell* (1606?) asks if plotters were ever so "horrible, vnnaturall, and execrable" as to be moved neither by "duty to a sacred King, nor the tendernes of a gracious Queene, nor the sweetnes and golden hope of a young Prince."⁹³ Thomas Cooper, after a dedication to James, Henry, and the leaders of the state, wrote:

Deliciæ Patris, patriæ spes, & decus orbis,
Henrice salve principum, quos sol videt
Optime cunctorum, quæ te tam grata dedere
Secula, maligna quid vel invidia mali
In te deprendit; populo servatus, & ipsi.
Pergas, priores, temet vt superes bonis.
Sub te *Turca* ruat, ruat *Antichristus* avitam
Religio repetat gloriam, pænam ferat
Proditio; & Christi regnum acceleretur. vt omnes
Capita levemus, quod redemptio propè est.⁹⁴

⁹³ Sig. G3. In *A sermon preached before the king's maiestie at White-hall, on the V. of November, anno Domini, MDCXVI*, Bishop Lancelot Andrewes asked: "What are *Vipers*, to them, that at once, would not have *stoong*, but have *sent up*, and *torne in pieces*, a *King*, a *Queene*, a *Prince*, and I know not how many of the *Nobles*, *Clergie*, *Commons*; all the *Estates* of a *Realme*, a *whole Countrie*, their owne *Countrie*, all at one blast" (*XCVI sermons*, 1629, sig. Qqqq3^v)?

⁹⁴ *Nonæ Novembris æternitati consecratæ in memoriam admirandæ illius liberationis principis, & populi Anglicani à proditione sulphurea*, Oxford, 1607, sig. ¶¶¶1^v. Cf. verses in Michael Valesius, *In serenissimi regis Iacobi, . . . ab immanissima papæ factionis hominum coniuratione, liberationem fœlicissimam carmen* ἐπιχαρτικόν, 1606, sig. B2^v.

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Prayers were raised for Henry's continued preservation.⁹⁵

Various books printed in 1605 were dedicated to Henry. Hugh Broughton alone presented three: *Familia Davidis, quatenus regnum spectat: cum chronographia sacra ad redemptionem usque continuata*;⁹⁶ *A comment vpon Cobelet or Ecclesiastes: framed for the instruction of Princf [sic] Henri our hope*;⁹⁷ and *A replie vpon the R. R. F. Th. VVinton for heads of his diuinity in his sermon and survey*.⁹⁸ "Sacred Policie," the second part of *Doctor Andros his prosopopeia answered, and necessarily directed to his maiestie, for remouing of Catholike scandale*, was "directed of dutie to our sweet yong Prince HENRY," by Henoch Clapham, who was a "prisoner in the Gate-house at Westminster"⁹⁹ on a charge of increasing the panic caused by the plague. Sir John Harington presented a specially prepared manuscript of his epigrams with a dedication dated June 19, 1605, to his "inestimably Deare Prince, For your pleasures sake and my

⁹⁵ See John Rhodes, *A briefe summe of the treason intended against the king & state*, 1606, sigs. B3, B4^v; William Smyth, *The black-smith. A sermon preached at White-hall before the kings most excellent majestie, the young prince, the councell, &c. on Loe Sunday*, 1606, sig. E1; and Richard Alison, *An howres recreation in musicke*, 1606, sig. D4^v.

⁹⁶ An "Epilogus" (sig. 1B4^v) for the first part of this book (the Latin-Hebrew version) presents that part to Henry; a corresponding letter to his mother (sig. 2B4) offers the English-Hebrew version to her. The work was printed in Amsterdam.

⁹⁷ Sigs. [*]2-[*]2^v.

⁹⁸ There is no dedicatory epistle, but on sigs. A1, A2, and D8^v the book is clearly presented to Henry.

⁹⁹ Sig. I3. Henry is the "Sweet Floure of Wales, the hope of Britaine great," in the presentation verses. The "Epilogvs" (sig. L1^v), too, addresses him.

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promise.”¹⁰⁰ Samuel Daniel offered *The tragedy of Philotas* in moral verses asking Henry to find in the play lessons in wise and noble statecraft. Saddened by the falling off in verse since great Eliza’s days and a decline in his own fame, he turns to this “*most hopefull Prince*,” trusting that he will bring times like his godmother’s.

*For know, great Prince, when you shall come to know
How that it is the fairest Ornament
Of worthy times, to haue those which may shew
The deedes of power, and liuely represent
The actions of a glorious Gouvernement.
And is no lesser honor to a Crowne
T’haue Writers then haue Actors of renowne.*¹⁰¹

W. C[ovell], in dedicating his translation of Carlo Pasquale, *False complaints. Or the censure of an vnthankfull mind*, speaks of Henry’s “*princely forwardnes, promising great hope, in the perfection of all vertues*.”¹⁰² In a complimentary sonnet Joshua Sylvester dedicated to Henry his translation, *Tetrastica. Or, the quadrains of Guy de Faur, Lord of Pibrac*.¹⁰³ It was fitting that this young patron of letters receive the dedication of Thomas James’s *Catalogvs librorvm bibliothecae publicae quam vir ornatissimus Thomas Bodleivs eques auratus in academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit; continet autem libros alphabeticè dispositos secundum quatuor facultates*, printed this year at Oxford.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Folger Shakespeare Library MS. 4455, fols. [*^{1v}–*²]. The manuscript contains some unprinted epigrams and several that differ from their printed versions.

¹⁰¹ *Works*, III, 100–101.

¹⁰² Sig. A₂^v.

¹⁰³ *The Complete Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 1880, II, 22.

¹⁰⁴ Sigs. ¶₂–¶₂^v.

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Between July 17 and August 11, 1606, Henry's maternal uncle, Christian IV of Denmark, was the guest of the royal family. James, Henry, and many of the nobles welcomed him at Tilbury on July 18. At Gravesend, "first the noble-men went aboard the King of *Denmarks* ship, & were most graciously receiued: after them the Young Prince, whome the King culd and imbraced most louingly in his armes, expressing a most tender & royall affection."¹⁰⁵ "All the way passing . . . [to Greenwich], the Royall King of Denmarke, with many loving favours, shewed his heart's joy in imbracing the noble and most honourable Prince Henry." On July 21 the kings, "accompanied with our Royall Prince, and manye honorable persons moste richly mounted on steedes of great prise, and furniture fayre, hunted in the Parke at Greenewich, and killed two buckes. After noone, their High Estates went to Eltham, a house of his Majestie's two miles distant from the Court, where in the parke they hunted with great pleasure, and killed three buckes on horsebacke, being followed with many companies of people, which in their loves came to see them." On the twenty-fourth the royal party advanced toward Theobalds, cheered all the way by crowds happy to "beholde so honourable and heavenly sight, two anoynted Kinges and so Royall a Prince."¹⁰⁶ At Theobalds they saw a mask, *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, by Ben Jonson.¹⁰⁷ At Theobalds the party remained with the Earl of Salisbury for four days, hunting and enjoying the beauties of the place. On July 31

¹⁰⁵ *The king of Denmarkes vvelcome*, 1606, sig. A3^v.

¹⁰⁶ Henry Roberts, *The most royall and honourable entertainment of the most famous and renowned king Christiern the fourth*, reprinted in Nichols, II, 54-69.

¹⁰⁷ See Chambers, I, 172.

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there was a great triumph through London to Somerset House with pageants at Great Conduit, Little Conduit, and Fleet Conduit. "Then came the most gracious Prince Henrie, whose sweete and most majesticall grace and favour the whole Company with due honour to his Grace did applaude, and pray for his most gracious Father, and all theirs, in all health to continue." Many shows and pastimes entertained Christian before he sailed home from Gravesend on August 5. At tilting "the toward and most hopefull Prince shewed himselfe in his armour, being gallantly mounted, and a hart as powerfull as any, though his youth denyed strength." On the ninth the kings, the queen, and the prince sailed down the Thames to be welcomed at Rochester. The next day they dined sumptuously near Chatham on a "shippe . . . perfumed with sweete and pleasaunt perfume, and hanged with cloth of golde all the sides within. . . . The time passing away, the Kinges tooke their barges, accompanied with the Queene, Prince, and Noblemen, and rowed on towards Chatham, where they had sight of all the shippes; which were rich in ancientes, pendants, flagges, and streamers." ¹⁰⁸ Ordnances and fireworks followed. On the next day farewell was said at Gravesend aboard Christian's *Admiral*, after a dinner and more fireworks. Handsome gifts were exchanged; Henry was presented by Christian with his *Vice-admiral*, his best fighting ship, worth with all her furniture not less than twenty-five thousand pounds. ¹⁰⁹

Henry was now old enough to be courted directly by

¹⁰⁸ Nichols, II, 66, 80, 83.

¹⁰⁹ II, 93. Gifts were no doubt welcome, for James's exchequer was so exhausted that Henry's household was suffering. Purveyors were refusing to supply him. Henry sent an appeal to the lord treasurer for funds. See Birch, pp. 83-84.

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foreign diplomats and agents. During the preceding year he had written various letters in Latin and French to Continental princes.¹¹⁰ In appointing Antoine le Fèvre de la Boderie ambassador to England in April, 1606, Henry IV of France had instructed him to address himself particularly to the prince on all occasions, and to make sure that M. St. Antoine, the riding master whom the French king had presented to the prince, served him faithfully. When St. Antoine invited Boderie to see Henry in action in the riding school, and so please the prince immensely, Boderie advised gifts that would delight the royal horseman. Henry mounted two horses for the ambassador, who wrote that because Henry was

a Prince, who promises very much, and whose friendship cannot but be one day of advantage, I think it highly proper to cultivate it, and to manage it early by all means suitable to his age and condition. The Dauphin may make a return for the dogs lately sent him by the Prince; for St. Anthoine tells me, that he cannot gratify the Prince more, than by sending him a suit of armour well gilt and enamelled, together with pistols and a sword of the same kind: and if he add to these a couple of horses, one of which goes well, and the other a barb, it will be a singular favour done to the Prince.¹¹¹

Less appealing to Henry, surely, was a present made late in August by the ambassador of the States General of the United Provinces—a set of table linen, offered as a characteristic product of the land. Having had a letter from the French king and his dauphin proffering their friendship, Henry wrote on August 26 to express appreciation of their

¹¹⁰ See Birch, pp. 47-48.

¹¹¹ *Ambassades de Monsieur de la Boderie*, 1750, I, 60 (translation after Birch, pp. 69-70).

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kindnesses. When he was residing at Richmond in September and October during his father's progress, he was courted by the French and Spanish ambassadors, who vied with each other for his favor. At this time Boderie sent his master a memorable comment on Henry's character and tastes:

None of his pleasures . . . savour the least of a child. He is a particular lover of horses and what belongs to them; but is not fond of hunting; and when he goes to it, it is rather for the pleasure of galloping, than that which the dogs give him. He plays willingly enough at Tennis, and at another Scots diversion very like mall; but this always with persons elder than himself, as if he despised those of his own age. He studies two hours a day, and employs the rest of his time in tossing the pike, or leaping, or shooting with the bow, or throwing the bar, or vaulting, or some other exercise of that kind; and he is never idle. He shews himself likewise very good natured to his dependants, and supports their interests against any persons whatever; and pushes what he undertakes for them or others, with such zeal, as gives success to it. For besides his exerting his whole strength to compass what he desires, he is already feared by those, who have the management of affairs.¹¹²

Sir Charles Cornwallis, after noting Henry's interest in state affairs, remarks on other sides of his character as it was developing after his thirteenth birthday in 1607:

In the 14. and 15. yeares of his age, he began to be very juditious, almost in every thing, drawing neerer to a Majestique gravity; to be a reverent and attentive hearer of Sermons, to give commendations to the same, to have Boxes kept at his three severall standing Houses, *Saint-Iames*, *Richmond*, and *Nonsuch*, causing all those who did sweare in his hearing, to pay moneyes

¹¹² I, 400-401 (translation after Birch, pp. 75-76).

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to the same, which were after duly given to the poore; he beganne now also to be of an excellent discourse, putting forth, and asking strange Questions and Suppositions, both of this, and forraine States, and desiring to know, and to be resolved almost of everything, whereby at length he attained to have a reasonable insight and judgement, in State-affaires; now also delighting to shoot in great and small Field-pieces, to levell them to the white, and see them shot off.¹¹³

But Henry was not always serious and severe. As early as October, 1602, George Nicolson had written to Sir Robert Cecil of Henry's skill in the dance.¹¹⁴ On January 15, 1604, Dudley Carleton wrote to John Chamberlain that in "galliards and corantoes . . . the yong Prince was tost from hand to hand like a tennis bal."¹¹⁵ In January, 1606, John Pory wrote Sir Robert Cotton that at Ben Jonson's mask *Hymenaei* for the Essex-Howard wedding Henry danced a variety of dances "with as great perfection and as settled a majesty as could be devised."¹¹⁶ And on October 4 of this year Rowland Whyte told the Earl of Shrewsbury:

At Hampton Court, in the Queen's Presence-chamber, there was dawncing: the King, Queen, Prince, and Vawdemont, were

¹¹³ *The life and death*, sigs. A8-A8^v.

¹¹⁴ *State Papers Relating to Scotland*, II, 817.

¹¹⁵ Chambers, III, 280. Henry danced beautifully according to the constable of Castile in describing a ball given in his honor at Whitehall in 1604 (Rye, p. 123). James urged Henry and Charles when they were but children to practice dancing privately "tho they whistle and sing to each other for music" (Elizabeth Godfrey, *Home Life under the Stuarts, 1603-1649*, New York, 1903, p. 75). Thomas Giles, Henry's "teacher to dance" in 1610, drew an annual salary of fifty pounds (Nichols, II, 23 n.).

¹¹⁶ Nichols, II, 34.

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by. My Lady Pembroke was taken out by a French Cavagliero to dance a corraute: her La. tooke out our noble Prince. At last it came to a galliard: the Prince tooke out my Lady Pembroke.¹¹⁷

Yet it was undoubtedly Henry's seriousness and rectitude that evoked ardent Protestant affection. His attentiveness to sermons and his keeping of "boxes" suggested godliness, not priggishness, to the many who were justly shocked and distressed by the license and extravagance at James's court.

Half a dozen books, written chiefly by churchmen and printed in 1606, were dedicated to Henry, the hope of Protestant reformers. Hugh Broughton, who had preached before Henry at Oatlands as early as 1603, offered his translation from the Hebrew, *The lamentationes of Ieremy*, and declared that he had labored at this and his previous translations that "your G. might by ripe yeres, be ripe in the knowledg of God."¹¹⁸ Broughton also presented to Henry his *Responsvm ad epistolam Ivdæi, sitienter expretentis cognitionem fidei Christianorum: cum versione Latinā, auctore vtriusque Hugone Broughtono*, printed in Amsterdam.¹¹⁹ Matthew Sutcliffe presented *An abridgement or survey of poperie*, designed to expose Romish corruptions of the "true church," as the "first fruits of my affection and seruice."¹²⁰ Richard Fowns, a chaplain to Henry, dedicated his *Concio ad clerum celeberrimæ Florentissimæq; Academiæ Oxon*

¹¹⁷ II, 99.

¹¹⁸ Dedicated on sigs. *1-*2. Broughton referred to "that work which was sent over to your G. in Ebrew and Latin which hādleth Davids Families & Daniels sūme."

¹¹⁹ The title page reads: "DICATVM illustrissimo Heroi, Henrico Principi Magnæ Britanniæ."

¹²⁰ Dedicated on sigs. A2-A3^v.

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*habita Iulij dedecimo, anno Domini 1606.*¹²¹ In his Latin epistle he hopes that the noble prince will lead the church into union and freedom from popish error. John Weever shifted the dedication of his *An agnvs Dei*, a thumbnail book of devotional verse, from Queen Elizabeth to this "machlesse issue of a mighty King," declaring "My booke [is] litle, but my loue is great."¹²² Soon after his accession to the English throne James had appointed William Leigh a tutor to Henry. Leigh now dedicated *Great Brittaines, great deliuerance, from the great danger of popish powder by way of meditation, vpon the late intended treason against the kings most excellent maiestie, the queene, the prince, and all their royall issue.*¹²³ Of Henry, "highest straine in all expectance," Leigh writes:

It is a rare vertue when humilitie is honoured, and honour is humbled: the blaze whereof I saw in your Princely countenance, when at your Highnesse Court at Saint *Iames*, it pleased your excellencie to licke vp the dust of the Sanctuarie there, (vpon the Lords day:) and after the Sermon ended, to yeeld such grace in publicke to the Preacher, as that he might kisse your Princely hand: which euer sithence hath strucke so great an impression of exceeding loue, and loialtie in my poore heart, as by the grace of God, I shall neuer leaue to pray for your Highnesse, as I am most bounden: and also by all meanes, studie, how either my loue, or life, may expresse the seruice and dutie I owe for so gracious an aspect.¹²⁴

In the following verses Henoah Clapham offered *An abstract*

¹²¹ Sigs. A₃-A₃^v.

¹²² Dedicated on sigs. A₃-A₄. I quote from the edition of 1610.

¹²³ Sigs. A₂-A₂^v.

¹²⁴ Sig. A₂^v.

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*of fayth: grounded on Moses, and applyed to the common
creede, plainely and briefly:*

*Pardon sweet Prince, pardon my bold present;
The Hope we have your Excellencie shall
Proue to our Church, a matchlesse Instrument,
For Gospels good, and Superstitions fall:
That, and some Grace, vouchsafed to my bands,
Emboldens mee, to giue this to your hands.*¹²⁵

Other kinds of books dedicated to Henry in 1606 suggest the reach of his popularity. Samson Lennard, translating Pierre Charron under the title, *Of wisdom three bookes written in French*, first lauds James's peace; then he declares his gratitude to Henry for favors and for "*your Princely clemencie to others in the like kinde.*"¹²⁶ Another soldier's tribute to a prince who roused the admiration of martial men is the dedication of Barnabe Rich's *Faultes faultes, and nothing else but faultes*: "I present them with a Souldiers faithfull heart, that is still armed to the prooffe, to doe your Grace all humble and dutifull seruice."¹²⁷ Sir Thomas Palmer, offering *An essay of the meanes howv to make our trauailes, into forraine countries, the more profitable and honourable*, declared that

the world alreadie knowes, that your singular towardlines, to euerie good & perfect thing, is such, that neither can it or is likely to be paralleled of any in the world (so long as your Highnesse continews in those religious vertuous & studious paths,

¹²⁵ Sig. A1^v.

¹²⁶ Dedicated on sigs. ¶2-¶4.

¹²⁷ Dedicated on sigs. A3-A3^v.

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which God graunt) nor circumscribed within the Kings most Ample kingdomes, and States, but is knowen, feared, or admired in forrain parts.¹²⁸

John Bond, dedicating his annotated edition of Horace, noted the prince's military and scholarly interests and praised his progress along "studious paths."¹²⁹ This "totius Christianæ Reip. spes" was guided along such paths by Francis Holyoke's edition of *Riders dictionarie corrected and augmented. Wherein Riders index is transformed into a dictionarie etymologicall; deriuing euery word from his natiue fountaine, with reasons of the deriuations: none yet extant in that kind before.*¹³⁰

Still another book printed in 1606 and dedicated to Henry suggests the extent to which national affection was focused upon him by that year: Robert Fletcher's *The nine English worthies: or, famous and worthy princes of England, being all of one name; beginning with King Henrie the first, and concluding with Prince Henry, eldest sonne to our soueraine lord the king.* Fletcher tells Henry that "the eye of the World" is upon him and looks in him for a "transparent passage" of the virtues of his eight worthy ancestors, all named Henry. Furthermore,

the ioy and comfort of this famous Realme of *Great Britaine* (as well in Church as Common wealth) is set and settled in and vpon you, next to our King and present sauing Gouvernour. And

¹²⁸ Sig. A₃.

¹²⁹ *Qvinti Horatii Flacii poemata*, sigs. A₂-A₄. "DVÆ sunt artes (Princeps illustrissime) in quibus Reges præcipuè versari studiumque ponere aut solent aut debent: altera militaris, ciuilis altera" (sig. A₂).

¹³⁰ Dedicated on sigs. A₃-A₃^v.

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their hopefull expectation hath already installed you the ninth Worthy; as being likely (in time) I say not, to equall the eight, but euen to surmount and exceed them. For, as the ages, since theirs, haue been illustrated with more learning, Religion, and diuine wisdom: so, besides your gifts of Nature (who, in perfections, hath not been niggardly towards you) your Highnesse taking also your princely and happie education in a time of peace, . . . hath . . . meanes, examples, and leasure to heare, learne, behold, and obserue the singular goodnesse of God, in that, which hereafter shall be your owne greatnesse and happinesse.¹⁸¹

After preliminary verses in which various notables praise Henry, Fletcher pictures the earlier Henrys so that the review culminates with the prince, the ninth and worthiest worthy. Following an engraving of him are the verses:

Then *Britaine* boast, that neuer any age
Brought the like Prince, a thousand yeares in space:
For birth, for vertue, and for expectation,
Prince of Great *Britaine* ouerpeer's each Nation.

Ninth Worthie then, O Prince, possesse in peace
That worthy Title, best befitting fame:
Let prudence, fortitude, and all increase
That vertue addes, and doth adorne your name.
Let Princes all, and spite it selfe confesse,
In forraine Lands Prince *Henry* is peerelesse.
Of all the World our mirror then of might,
Our Paragon, most rare and worthie praise,
Our Comet, and our rising Starre most bright,
Grant mightie *Ioue*, that long and happie dayes
He may enioy.

¹⁸¹ Sig. A3.

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Then comes "The Prince his *Bien-venue*," in which the deceased worthies welcome him into their company:

Braue *Britaines* beautie, and faire *Englands* Ioy,
 Cambers Commander, *Irelands* lamp of light,
 Cornwales faire Duke, and *Chester* from annoy
 Count Palatine, for to defend with might,
Whole *Europes* Comet and Saint *Georges* Knight,
Grant Lord, the *George* and Garter long he weare
To King and Courtiers comfort, as true heire.
Welcome sweet Prince, into our company,
Which we from heauen with cheerefulnesse behold.¹³²

Henry's interest in ships quickened into an association with the Virginia colony in 1607. His gunner, Robert Tindall, arrived at Chesapeake Bay in May, having sailed late the preceding year in a fleet of three ships commanded by Captain Christopher Newport for the Virginia Company, organized in April, 1606. Tindall sent his master a journal of the voyage and a sketch of the James River with a letter dated from Jamestown, June 22, 1607.¹³³

That journal probably shared interest with a ship model that Pett made for Henry. It was "most fairly garnished

¹³² Sigs. K1^v-K2. John Barclay in *Sylvæ* lauded Henry in two poems (sigs. C1-C3, D3-D4^v).

¹³³ Birch, pp. 90-91. Not published until included in *Purchas his pilgrimes*, 1625, IV, 1938-1969, was *A larger relation of the said iland voyage* [the Azores expedition of 1597], written by Sir Arthur Gorges knight, collected in the queenes ship called the *Wast Spite*, wherein he was then captaine; with marine and martiall discourses added according to the occurrences. Purchas set beside his text the following note: "This booke was written A. 1607. and dedicated to that great hope of Great Britaine, Prince Henry; the Epistle to him and the Preface I haue omitted in regard of our long volume."

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with carving and painting, and placed in a frame arched, covered, and curtained with crimson taffety." Pett himself presented it to the Lord Admiral at Whitehall, November 10, 1607, supped with the lord, and the next day took the model to Richmond where the prince was. Henry had it placed in a private room in the long gallery. Pett reports that Henry was delighted with the sight of the model and "spent some time in questioning me divers material things concerning the same, and demanding whether I would build the great ship in all points like to the same, for I will (said his Majesty) compare them together when she shall be finished." ¹³⁴

On July 16, 1607, Henry was admitted to the famous association of the Merchant Taylors at a great feast in their London hall. After the master, warden, and various aldermen had honored James, they all

descended into the great Hall, where the Prince dined, and in like manner when they had saluted him with hearty and chéerefull welcome: Then the Master presented him also with a purse of Gold, and the Clarke of the Companie deliuered his Highnesse the like Role, which hee also as graciously accepted, and sayd, not onely himselfe would bée frée of the Merchant-taylors, but therewithall commaunded one of his Gentlemen, and the Clarke to goe to all the Lords there present, and require all of them that loued him, and were not frée of other Companies, to be frée of his Companie: whereupon all those Lords, . . . with humble thankes vnto his Highnesse, accepted the fréedome.¹³⁵

Henry and his father listened to sweet music by twelve lutists placed "in the windowes." And "hanging aloft in a

¹³⁴ *Autobiography*, pp. 31-32.

¹³⁵ Stow, sig. Fffffr^v.

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ship" were three men "like Saylors, being eminent for voyce and skill, who in their seuerall songs were assisted and seconded by the cunning Lutanists." Dr. John Bull, royal organist, made "excellent melodie upon a small payre of Organes."¹³⁶ The following verses by Richard Johnson tell of the delight of the company in receiving the prince:

It pleased so his Princely mind in meek mild courtesie,
To be a friendly Freeman made of this brave Company.
O! London, then in heart rejoyce, and Merchant Taylors sing
Forth praises of this gentle Prince, the son of our good King;
To tell the welcome to the world, he then in London had,
Might fill us full of pleasant joyes, and make our hearts full
glad.¹³⁷

Ben Jonson wrote verses for this entertainment "to be spoken by John Rice, then a boy actor at the Globe, as an angel of gladness, with a taper of frankincense in his hand."¹³⁸

The prince's household had by now so expanded that Sir Thomas Chaloner set out the difficulties of maintenance in a letter to the chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Julius Caesar. Sir Thomas declared that the household, intended for a courtly college or a collegiate court, had become so large that it was almost overwhelmed by its costs.¹³⁹ In that household as it was eventually organized in 1610 were "few lesse then five hundred, many of them young Gentlemen, borne to

¹³⁶ The same.

¹³⁷ Nichols, II, 138.

¹³⁸ Chambers, I, 134.

¹³⁹ Birch, p. 87. Earlier in 1607 Boderie had written Puisieux that Henry himself had demanded funds of the lord treasurer to satisfy purveyors refusing to furnish provisions until their arrears were paid (*Ambassades*, II, 16).

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great fortunes, in the prime of their years.”¹⁴⁰ James, Anne, Elizabeth, and Charles visited Henry’s court from time to time. Adam Newton was secretary; Walter Quin, music teacher; Nicholas Drake, bow bearer and master of the hounds; Edward Wright, librarian; Dr. Hammond, physician; Ralph Clayton, apothecary; Lewis Rogers, surgeon; Thomas Giles, dancing teacher; Sir Robert Douglas, master of the horse; John King, master of the prince’s ship; John Reynolds, master gunner; and Inigo Jones, surveyor of the works. Three French equerries looked to Henry’s horses. Of great importance at the Nonsuch court was Sir Thomas Chaloner, chamberlain to Henry. The “orders established to be observed by all gentlemen and officers of the Prince’s Household” show his extensive authority for the enforcement of exact regulations upon gentlemen ushers, guards, waiters, grooms, porters—all the persons of the court. Gaming was for recreation (at least officially)¹⁴¹ and lewd talk was prohibited. Daily chapel and monthly communion were in the hands of twenty-four chaplains “that attend[ed] by two and two every month.” But fasting seems not to have been in order; tables were loaded with bread and pies, fruit, meats, fowl, fish, wine, and beer. Fifteen musicians and fourteen players were in attendance.¹⁴²

As early as 1607 James Cleland admiringly described Henry’s famous courtly college in *Ἡρωπαίδεια, or the institution of a young noble man* (printed at Oxford). Cleland,

¹⁴⁰ Sir Charles Cornwallis, *A discourse of the most illustrious prince, Henry, late prince of Wales. Written anno 1626, 1641*, sig. C1.

¹⁴¹ See below, pp. 54–55.

¹⁴² See Birch, pp. 427–468, for the records upon which I have based this summary.

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evidently while acting as tutor to the son of Lord Harington, knew well Henry's court, for Henry chose young Harington as his chief friend.¹⁴³ All of chapter eight in the *Institvtion* is devoted to praise of this Nonsuch court.

Without offence to either of the famous *Vniversities* here, or our *Colledges* in Scotland, for all sort of good learning, I recommend in particular the *Academie* of our Noble Prince, where yoũg Nobles may learne the first elements to be a *Privie Counseller*, a *Generall* of an Armie, to rule in peace, & to cõmande in warre. Here they may obtaine his *Highnes* fauor. . . . Here shal a yoũg Noble man learne to fashion himselfe, and to haue a good *entregent* (as the French mē call it.) Here is the true *Panthæon* of Great Britaine, where Vertue her selfe dwell-eth by patterne, by practise, by encouragement, admonitions, & precepts of the most rare persons in Vertue and Learning that can be found: so that the very accidents of yoũg Noble mens studies cannot be but substantial, as sympathising with the fountaine from whence they flow. Here is a glorious and laudable emulatiõ among Peeres without fraud or cruie; al striuing to doe best; and to merit most his *Highnesse* fauour, *stimulos dedit æmula virtus*. For exercise of the body there is none lacking, fitting a young Noble mã, so that he may learne more in this one place, in one month, then if hee should run ouer al France and Italie, in a year; yea his *Highnesse* Dinners and Suppers are an

¹⁴³ See Birch, pp. 420-425, for letters that passed between the friends. In the spring of 1603 James appointed the twelve-year-old son of the Earl of Essex to bear the sword before him on his entry into the city and "destined him to be the eternal companion of his eldest son, the Prince of Wales" (*State Papers, Venetian*, X, 26); but Harington evidently displaced Essex in Henry's affections. See below, pp. 57-59. His father, the first Lord Harington of Exton, had been given the care of Princess Elizabeth in October, 1603, and was established with her and his family at Combe Abbey.

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other *Salomons* table, where the wisest men of any country may come to learne of him & his attendāts. . . .

. . . The nine Sisters hearing of our ninth Prince HENRY accōpanied with his nine *right honorable nobles* left the waters of *Aganippe* to come here riding vpon their *Pegasus*, who with his hoofe hath made a nother *Hyprocrene* to spring in the midst of his Court.¹⁴⁴

Cleland's extravagant flourishes should not obscure the importance of Henry's court in the cultural life of the land. A school of taste and manners that contrasted with the coarseness and frivolity of much that went on at James's court, it was as well a stimulus to literary men.

Of Henry's own activities at his court and of his character in 1607, Cornwallis writes:

He so distributed the day by dividing his houres into the service of God, to the apting himselfe to the office hee was borne unto, both in government Civill and Military, and to necessary exercises and recreations, as no part of it could bee said to bee in vaine bestowed; to inable his knowledge in government civill, he read Histories. . . .

¹⁴⁴ Sigs. E2-E2v. Lambeth Palace Library MS. 822 is a copy of a panegyric on Prince Henry compiled by Cleland and addressed to the Duc de Lesdiguières. A covering letter presents the copy to Archbishop Abbott as a new year's gift in 1612. A pen and ink portrait of Henry, armed, on horseback, and with sword drawn, gives point to part of the covering letter to the archbishop: "voyé (sil vous plait) qui abatera l'Heresiarche, d'un roid bras, et des rud coups. C'est HEUREUX HENRY, le Paraugon des Princes, tout prest a prendre le gantelet, et la glaive, pour retrancher les membres pourris de ce chef; et qui charge la cuirasse chez vous, pour faire peur au Pape par son pourtraict, comē la statue d'Alexandre fict trembler Demetrius d'effroy." There is also a dedicatory letter addressed to Henry himself. The panegyric embraces fols. 5-10. British Museum MS. Royal 16 E. XXXVIII is the parent manuscript.

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In the military, hee added thereunto the Mathematicks study of Cosmography, and had one that instructed him in the matter and forme of fortifications.

For practice, hee used in a manner daily to ride and manage great horses, with which hee had his stables most excellently furnished, oftimes to runne at the Ring, and sometimes at Tilt, both which he so well and dexterously performed, and with so great a comelinesse, as in those his first yeares, he became second to no Prince in Christendome, and to many that practised with him much superiour.

His other exercises were dancing, leaping, and in times of yeare fit for it learning to swimme, at sometimes walking fast and farre, to accustome and enable himselfe to make a long march when time should require it; but most of all at Tennis play, wherein, to speake the truth, which in all things I especially affect, hee neither observed moderation, nor what appertained to his dignity and person, continuing oftimes his play for the space of three or foure houres, and the same in his shirt, rather becomining an Artisan then a Prince, who in things of that nature are onely to affect comelinesse, or rather a kinde of carelessnessse in shew, to make their activities seeme the more naturall, then a laborious and toiling industry.

Of this and his diet, wherein he shewed too much inclination to excessive eating of fruits, he was in al other things content to heare advice, but in these two particulars not to follow it.

To other play or gaming, hee shewed himself not much inclined, yet would sometimes play at Obesse at Biliors and at Cards, but so very Nobly and like himselfe, as plainly shewed his use of it to bee onely for recreation, not for appetite of gaine; for whether he wonne or lost, his countenance was ever the same, and for the most part, greater appearance of mirth in him when he was in losse, then when hee wonne, thereby plainly demonstrating both his judgement in adventuring no more then what he made no regard of if he lost it: and his Princely magnanimity and temper in suffering no passion or

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alteration to take hold of him through any crossnesse of Cards or chance.¹⁴⁵

One gets a somewhat different picture of Henry's gambling from *The Accompte of the Money Expended by Sir David Murray K^t as Keaper of the Privie Purse to the . . . Noble Prynce Henry, . . . from the first of October 1610 to the sixth of November 1612*. Money "lost in play at Tennys, Dyce, Cardes, and other sportes as in the prticular booke menconinge to and wth whom the same was lost" is set down as £2671 4s.¹⁴⁶ We know not what Henry won. Perhaps it was well if he did play "onely for recreation," as idealizing Sir Charles assures us he did.

Such a prince as Cleland and Cornwallis picture was inevitably a chief prize on the royal marriage mart. As early as 1601 there had been talk of a match with the daughter of the Duke of Florence.¹⁴⁷ In June, 1603, the Venetian secretary shrewdly thought a Spanish proposal that Henry marry the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and his sister Elizabeth the Prince of Piedmont, "all . . . merely a ruse to facilitate the conclusion of peace."¹⁴⁸ In the next year, just after the conclusion of a peace treaty with Spain, a marriage with the infanta was projected, but with the impossible condition that Henry be brought up a Catholic and educated in Madrid.¹⁴⁹ In 1607 Philip III again got concerned about a match in order to divert James from too much favor

¹⁴⁵ *A discourse*, sigs. C4^v-D1^v.

¹⁴⁶ *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, ed. Peter Cunningham, 1842, p. x.

¹⁴⁷ *State Papers Relating to Scotland*, II, 804.

¹⁴⁸ *State Papers, Venetian*, X, 55.

¹⁴⁹ In this connection, see *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, R. L. Ellis, and D. D. Heath, XIII (1872), 144.

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for France and the United Provinces. Henry IV had kept his representatives near Henry and had not failed to win his friendship. He had Boderie report frequently on the progress of the French and of the Spanish suits. In December of 1607 Boderie gave Henry a letter from the French king that pleased him. When the French king had received the Garter in 1603, a double marriage of his two eldest children to those of England had been mooted. Now Boderie wrote to his master that the princess Elizabeth would be an ideal match for the dauphin; but he admitted that it would be useless to seek her unless Henry IV was ready to match a daughter with Henry; that prince had promised his dearly loved sister not to consent to a French marriage for himself unless she became dauphiness,¹⁵⁰ and she, apparently, had told Henry that she would favor the dauphin only if he got the dauphiness.

There was deep affection between Henry and his young sister. Bacon declares that Henry was "a wonderfully obedient son to the King his father, very attentive also to the Queen, kind to his brother; but his sister he especially loved."¹⁵¹ This love is appealingly reflected in the little letters that passed between them. They give a "poignant impression of valour and innocence," however "tortuous and stilted" their phraseology. The burden of Elizabeth's letters is always her longing to see her brother again. Days are ages when he is away. Henry replies, "There is nothing I wish more than that we might be in one companie." Cornwallis

¹⁵⁰ Boderie, III, 7; Carola Oman, *Elizabeth of Bohemia*, 1938, p. 36.

¹⁵¹ *Works*, VI (1868), 328. Authorities agree; see Cornwallis, *A discourse*, sig. D4; W. H., *The true picture*, sig. A2^v. Miss Oman (pp. 33-35) has written admirably of Henry's affection for his sister, and of hers for him. I am indebted to her pages.

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writes that, though Henry "entirely loved" his brother Charles and his sister Elizabeth,

sometimes by a kinde of rough play and dalliance with the one, and a semblance of contradicting the other, in what he descerned her to desire, he tooke a pleasure in giving both to the one and the other, some cause in those their so tender yeares to make prooffe of their patiences.¹⁵²

Once Henry wrote his sister: "That you are displeased to be left in solitude, I can well believe, for you damsels and women are sociable creatures, but you know that those who love each other best cannot always be glued together."¹⁵³ Charles seems to have had a younger brother's veneration for a capable older one. And Henry appears early to have dominated him. Once James told Henry that he should study diligently lest Charles prove more meet for the council board and Henry be fit only for martial affairs. Henry was respectfully silent, but later, when reminded again that his brother seemed likely to prove the better scholar, he declared, "Then . . . will I make him Archbishop of Canterbury."¹⁵⁴

Young Sir John Harington "deservedly enjoyed the principal share of his Highness's favour and even friendship, be-

¹⁵² *A discourse*, sig. D4.

¹⁵³ Quoted by Oman, p. 35, from Harleian MS. 7007. 38.

¹⁵⁴ *A relation of the princes noble and vertuous disposition and of sundry of his witty and pleasant speeches*, Huntington Library MS. 35/C/4, fol. 9. This manuscript, most of which parallels W. H.'s *The true picture and relation of Prince Henry*, adds this incident to the book. The ancestor of both this manuscript and the book appears to have been Harleian MS. 6391, *A relation of Prince Henry's noble and vertuous disposition, & of sundry his witty & pleasant speeches, directed to the right honourable the Lord Lumley & his lady*.

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ing indeed in all respects one of the most virtuous and accomplished youths of his time.”¹⁵⁵ He was two years Henry’s senior and destined to survive the prince by only two years. The friends corresponded during their separations, especially while Sir John was making the grand tour of Europe in 1609. He was a good student in Latin and Greek.¹⁵⁶ An extant Latin letter, apparently written before he departed, compliments Henry and seeks light on a difficult passage in Tacitus’ *Agricola*. In his Latin reply Henry protests that all the praise of his wit and judgment, followed now by a request to construe a perplexing passage, but exposes his inability. He vows himself a “mere novice” in “all kinds of polite learning,” who has scarcely “dared to look into Tacitus.” However, he has now begun to wrestle with *Agricola* and has “thought it not improper to offer to your consideration one or two much less difficult passages, in the sense of which I could not satisfy myself.” A neat move in his corner.¹⁵⁷ Early in 1609 Sir Henry Wotton, ambassador to Venice, introduced Sir John to the doge as the “right eye” of Prince Henry; and Sir John showed the doge a small oval portrait of his royal friend.¹⁵⁸ Sir John’s Latin and French letters from the Low Countries and Italy pledge abiding service and devotion to his prince; at foreign courts he extols Henry’s virtues; for Henry’s amusement he is keep-

¹⁵⁵ Birch, p. 117.

¹⁵⁶ Cleland had dedicated to Sir John, his pupil, the fourth book of *The institution of a young noble man*—“*this whole worke for your instructiō*” (sig. Q2^v).

¹⁵⁷ The letters are printed in Birch, pp. 420–422.

¹⁵⁸ *Life and Letters*, ed. L. P. Smith, 1907, I, 441 n. In 1607 Henry had won the thanks of the doge by writing that if he were of age he would come in person to serve the Venetian republic in its troubles (*State Papers, Venetian*, X, 495; XI, 2, 11, 34).

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ing a journal of his travels; he is distressed when a copy of a book describing the Prince of Tuscany's marriage fails to reach Henry; and in his bosom he carries the ring Henry has given him.¹⁵⁹

Literary men continued to salute Henry affectionately in 1607. In his *Epigrammatum* John Owen wrote:

Ad Henricum Principem.

Spes Britonum, soboles tanto speranda parenti,
Dimidium matris, dimidiumque patris;
Nobilium exemplar, sed vix imitabile, morum,
Quos cuncti, quamuis pauci imitentur amant:
Inseuit ne tibi pater hos *ex traduce* mores?
An dedit in mammis mater? vtrumque puto.¹⁶⁰

Edward Ayscu's *A historie contayning the vvarres, treatises, marriages, and other occurrents betweene England and Scotland, from King William the Conqueror, vntill the happy vnion of them both in our gracious King Iames came to this "Most sweete Prince" as the heir of "happy mariages" "to beg some honour, by reuiuing and bringing to fresh memorie, the many leagues and happy mariages betweene the two kingdomes of this Iland."*¹⁶¹ The hope of "true religion" received Andrew Willet's *An harmonie vpon the first booke of Samvel* (printed in Cambridge), as a "testimonie of my seruice and dutie":

¹⁵⁹ Birch, pp. 122-125.

¹⁶⁰ Sig. E1. Other verses are on sig. C3. Cf. *Ioannis Stradlingi epigrammatum libri quatuor*, 1607, sigs. G2-G2^v, H7-H7^v, K1-K1^v; and D. D., *Xenia ad Iacobum potentissimum inuictissimumque Britanniae, Franciae*, 1607, sigs. B1-B2.

¹⁶¹ Dedicated on sigs. A3-A4^v.

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So your Highnes following the worthie example of our Daudid the Kings sacred and Christian Maiestie, oppose your selfe, euen in these your tender and springing yeares to that Goliath of Rome, and professe your selfe an aduersarie to the whole bodie of Popish and Antichristian superstition: . . . But God shall giue vnto your Highnes strength, not onely to attempt, but to accomplish great things for the seruice of his Church.¹⁶²

Henry Arthington offered his *Principall points of holy profession, touching these three estates of mankind*. 1. *Their creation*. 2. *Their subuersion*. 3. *Their restoration*. It is a book of clumsy quatrains frankly written to bring gospel truth to the "*mèaner sort of people*." An acrostic, "Vpon euery letter of our Soueraignes Heyre-apparant, his most honorable Stile (Viz:) HENRY, PRINCE of VVALES" exhorts Henry to God's service and prays for him:

H High heyre apparent to our supream King,
 E Eternall God enrich thee with his grace,
 N Now in thy Prime of age, with vertues spring,
 R Resplendant still to shine, and grow apace,
 Y *Young years shall then, (with honors high renown)*
 P *Prince Henries fame inblazon in each towne.*
 R Regard each day, to worship God aright,
 I In all attempts, set him him [*sic*] before thine eyes,
 N No danger then, Thy person shall afright,
 C Christ Iesus euer more will send supplies.
 E *Extoll his prayes then with heart and voyce,*
 O *O Noble Prince, make him thy cheefe of choyce.*
 F Forsake all by waies, leading vnto vyce,
 W VVith such as learning loue, alwaies consort,
 A Abhore them most, to leudnesse that entyce,
 L Let no such Roysters once thee make sport.

¹⁶² Sigs. ¶2^v-¶3.

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E Esteeme them best. That most in vertue shine,
S So shall Gods loue increase, to thee and thine.¹⁶³

Lodowick Lloyd dedicated *The iubile of Britane* to “the most Noble Prince *Henrie* by the grace of God, Prince of Great *Britane*.”¹⁶⁴ And Jakob de Gheyn, adding his “longe experience of the Nether-lands practise to Your ovne knowvledge of ancient Histories” and military science, asked to whom he could

more fitly . . . addresse . . . [this] vvorke . . . then to a *Prince*, that through the light of his ovne proper example, doth so much beautifye and ennoble the practise of Armes, vvho euen in the fore-springe of his yeares and amidst so many other princely entertaynements fitt for his youth and state, doth yet give such a lustre to this of Armes, by the continuall familiaritye he hath vvith them in his open practise, that I thinke I may saye, and saye truely, that the most true and perfect knowvledge of them is rather to be found vvith your Highnes, then brought to You.¹⁶⁵

As acceptable to Henry as this military book, must have been the dedication of *Cavelarice, the English horseman: contayning all the arte of horse-manship* by that authority on the subject, Gervase Markham. He declared that

it hath pleased God through the glorie of your countenance to giue a new life to this Art, which not long agoe was so much neglected, . . . but there is (as it were) anew [*sic*] and an

¹⁶³ Sig. A₃.

¹⁶⁴ Sigs. A₂–A₂^v. An anonymous author presented *Britannia triumphans; sive, icon quater maximi monarchę, Jacobi primi, . . . ad Henricum Britanniarum principem inclytum*, sigs. A₂–A₃.

¹⁶⁵ *The exercise of armes for caliures, muskettes, and pikes after the ordre of . . . Maurits prince of Orange*, The Hague, sig. [A₂].

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eternall foundation laid, which will continue til al corners of the world be consumed: which as it hath inflamed mee to offer vp this tribute of my zeale and knowledge, so I wish it would likewise kindle some sparkes in others.¹⁶⁶

Henry's love of horses is suggested in two letters which he wrote to his father in April and August, 1608. In the first, he thanks his father in Latin for permission for some hunting which yielded game and lifted his spirits.¹⁶⁷ In the second, he declares of a horse brought from M. le Grand by a French gentleman: "The next week I mean to use the benefit of your Majesty's gracious favour of hunting in Waltham forest, the place appointed as fittest for the sport being Wansted."¹⁶⁸ When he received a gift of arms and horses from the Prince de Joinville, who had been at the English court in May and June of 1607, he thanked him: "I perceive, my cousin, . . . that, during your stay in England, you discovered my humour; since you have sent me a present of the two things, which I most delight in, arms and horses."¹⁶⁹ Witnessing that delight in horses are such expenditures as the following:

A bay stoned horse bought of The Erle of Cumber-	li	s.
landes servaunte	xx	
A roane gelding	xvj	

¹⁶⁶ Sigs. C2-C2^v. On sig. N2 a laudatory sonnet is addressed to Henry.

¹⁶⁷ It is printed in Birch, pp. 419-420.

¹⁶⁸ Page 113.

¹⁶⁹ Page 100. In September Sir Henry Lee, venerable knight of Elizabethan chivalry, gave Henry a suit of armor worth two hundred pounds (*The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. McClure, Philadelphia, 1939, I, 263).

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A sadle	iiij
Fflower horses sent to prynce Jenvile with xxx ¹¹ .	
for transporting them	cxxx xv
Twoe horses for the lantgrave of Hesse	liiiij
One horse for Primerose the page	xvj ¹⁷⁰

Henry's growing interest in the navy led him to visit the royal dock at Woolwich in August of 1608. Early in the month he notified Phineas Pett that he would arrive after a progress to Lord Petre's house in Essex. On the morning of August 13 he took his barge at Blackwall and arrived in Woolwich about noon. Pett welcomed him and declared it gave much joy to "all seamen's hearts to perceive his Highness so well addicted to his Majesty's ships and the sight of them." He escorted Henry around the dock, then aboard the *Royal Anne* to the very top of her poop. There he gave a signal to the master gunner, William Bull, to fire salutes from thirty-one great brass chambers. The prince was doubly delighted because he had not expected the firing. After he had eagerly inspected all parts of the ship, he was conducted to the dockyard to see the keel, stem, and stern of his own ship, there being built. When he had had the keel measured, he retired to the house for a "set banquet of sweet meats and all other fruits the season of the year could yield, with plentiful store of wine, both Rhenish white, sack, Greek wine and Claret." When "divers gentlewomen of the town" who were in the room had been honored with the royal hand to kiss, Henry asked to be taken to the mount where the chambers had been fired. He found them all ready for another discharging. Delighted, he asked for a firing while he stood by, but Pett persuaded him of the danger; so Henry

¹⁷⁰ *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. xi.

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had his farewell salute when he stood at a safe remove in his barge and signaled with his handkerchief.¹⁷¹

Various volumes printed in 1608 give glimpses of Henry. In a little book by Thomas Rosa sketching the royal family and a number of courtiers, especially those of the Scottish nobility, Henry appears:

Natorū primus est *Henricus* Princeps Walliæ, patris gaudium, patriæ spes, primogenitus parentū, Regnorum hæres, (faxit Deus:) de cuius gestis cōmemoratio fieri non potest, nondum assumptā virili togā, quum decimum quartum annum nondum excesserit: ast egregiæ & altissimæ indolis conspicua & manifestissima argumenta omnes in eo cōtemplantur, qui loquentem audiunt, quiq; argutissimos eius sermones auribus hauriunt, quicunque incedentem vident, aut equo insidentē, & Alipedes Noto ocyūs agentem: qui cum coëtaneis & paribus digladiantem, ensesque fulmineos aut hastilia contrectantem aspiciunt. In his (inquam) miram mentis solertiam, corporisque agilitatem, celeritatem, & firmitatem summam in eo singuli deprehendunt; in quibus non mediocriter ipsi opitulatur præceptoris & didascali, *D. Neutonij* opera; viri omnifariâ artium, linguarūque cognitione excultissimi, qui vt alius *Seneca*, *Plutarchus*, aut *Polybius*, ipsi ad omnem sanctimoniam & virtutem callem patefacit, & tanquam consultissimus ὁδῆγος, viam cōmonstrat.¹⁷²

Morgan Colman in a book of royal genealogies hailed Henry:

Most Noble HENRY; Heire (though not the Son)
Of thy great Parents worke, his Vnion,
For that which when thou wert a childe began,
Thou shalt enioy, and finish when a man:

¹⁷¹ *Autobiography*, pp. 34-36.

¹⁷² *Idea, sive de Iacobi Magnæ Britanniae, . . . virtutibus & ornamētis, dilucida enarratio*, sigs. X7^v-X8.

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And as thou art the Top-flower of this groue,
 So out of thee more spacious Plants shall moue:
 O flourish then, in whose sweet budde liue treasur'd,
 The rootes of glories neuer to be measur'd.¹⁷³

Bishop Joseph Hall, Henry's favorite chaplain, dedicated several volumes to his patron. In the epistle prefacing the first volume of his *Epistles* (1608) he declares that he "*thought it iniustice to deuote the fruit of my labour, to any other hand beside my Maisters: which also I knew to be as gracious, as mine is faithfull.*"¹⁷⁴ Henry received the dedication of *Epistles, the second volume*¹⁷⁵ before 1608 ended. Daniel Price, the Oxford divine who wrote vehemently against the papacy, was made chaplain to Henry in 1608. He presented his *Recusants conversion: a sermon preached at St. James, before the prince on the 25. of Februarie. 1608* (printed in Oxford): "Your Grace is the comforte of the old, the hope of the young, and the ioy of all."¹⁷⁶ Henry's old nurse,¹⁷⁷ Esther Inglis, gave him an attractively bound little manuscript inscribed:

Pietate, prudentia, omnique virtutis genere illustrissimo principi,
 Henrico Frederico Principi Walliae, haec Psalmorum Davidi-
 corum argumenta per tetrasticha, calamo exarata: Esthera Inglis

¹⁷³ [*The genealogies of King James I. and Queen Anne, his wife, from the Conquest*, 1608], 1st opening.

¹⁷⁴ Sigs. A3^v-A4. The fourth epistle of the first decade, addressed to Henry's tutor, Newton, speaks of the "rare forwardnesse of our gracious Master."

¹⁷⁵ Sig. [A2].

¹⁷⁶ Sig. A2^v.

¹⁷⁷ According to *DNB*, which follows Thomas Hearne.

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in testificationem animi memoris et grati inscribit, offert, dedicat.
Anno 1608 ingrediente.¹⁷⁸

Henoch Clapham, after wondering to whom to offer the second edition (1603) of *A briefe of the bibles historie: drawne first into English poësy, and then illustrated by apt annotations*, had concluded:

*At last, (my labours vpon Salomons song, being the same time in Presse & Entitled to his Highnes) I resolved, to direct it to your Graces selfe. Who, frō two yeares of age . . . haue giuen admirable cause of all good Hopes.*¹⁷⁹

Now in offering the third edition of the book, Clapham in a new dedication ends:

*That blessing the King of Kings adorne you withall, that so, no lesse good may bee deriued in due time from you to the publique good of Great Britaine, then sometime did befall Iudea from yong Iosiah.*¹⁸⁰

The Scottish divine, William Guild, dedicated to Henry, Charles, and Elizabeth *The new sacrifice of Christian incense. Or the true entrie to the tree of life, and gracious gate of glorious paradise*.¹⁸¹ Sir John Harington wrote for Prince Henry's private use a continuation of Bishop Francis Godwin's *Catalogue of the bishops of England* and dedicated it to the prince under the title of *A brief view of the state of the church of England as it stood in Queen Elizabeth's and*

¹⁷⁸ Fol. 2. The manuscript, offered for sale by Sotheby, March 24, 1938, is described in the *Sotheby Catalogue* (p. 57) for that date.

¹⁷⁹ Sigs. A2^v-A3.

¹⁸⁰ Sig. A2^v. The fourth edition of 1639 remained dedicated to Henry.

¹⁸¹ Sigs. A2-A4^v.

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King James's reign, to the year 1608 (published in 1653).¹⁸² At least two books printed abroad carried laudatory dedications to Henry: A. Houston, *L'Escosse françoise. Discours des alliances commēcees depuis l'an sept cents septante sept, & continuees iusques à present, entre les couronnes de France & d'Escosse* (printed in Paris);¹⁸³ and Paulus Busius, *Commentarii in Pandectas*, Part II (printed in Zwoll).¹⁸⁴ Learned James was no doubt pleased when his first born began the year 1609 by presenting him with a Latin oration designed to show "that learning is more necessary to Kings, Princes, and persons in the highest stations, than to others; and then to answer what might be alledged on the contrary side of the question."¹⁸⁵

Before 1609 ended Henry had in his palace an excellent library with which to pursue learning. John, Lord Lumley, one of Henry's tutors, was a nobleman who "did pursue Recondite Learning as much as any of his Honourable Rank in those Times, and was the owner of a most precious Library, the search and collection of Mr. Humfry Llyd."¹⁸⁶ This fine library at Nonsuch had been formed in good part by the books bequeathed to Lumley in 1580 by his father-in-law, Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. Valuable manuscripts and printed books had come into the collection from Archbishop Cranmer, and Arundel had been able to gather

¹⁸² British Museum MS. Royal 17 B. XXII. Sir John had recommended the bishop's work to Henry partly to counteract the influence of the puritans on his mind (*DNB*, XXIV, 387).

¹⁸³ Sigs. A2-A2^v.

¹⁸⁴ Sigs. 2-2^v.

¹⁸⁵ Birch, p. 138.

¹⁸⁶ W. Y. Fletcher, *English Book Collectors*, 1902, p. 55, quoting Bishop Hacket. Humphrey Llwyd, the learned antiquary, was Lumley's brother-in-law.

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manuscripts when the treasures of the monastic libraries were being scattered. Lumley himself had been a careful collector, the while he made liberal donations to the Bodleian and the library of Cambridge University. Henry and Charles had visited Lumley at his house at Cheam in September, 1603. Upon Lumley's death in April, 1609, Henry purchased the library out of his privy purse. It was a collection "which probably was more valuable than any other . . . then existing in England, with the exception of that of Sir Robert COTTON."¹⁸⁷

Henry's first care after establishing his purchase in St. James's Palace was to have a full catalogue made of the rich library. In the state papers of the reign of James there is no account of the precise extent of the library or of the sum paid for it. The privy purse books of the prince seem largely to have perished, but accounts for the year 1609-1610 show the following entry: "*To Mr. Holcock, for writing a Catalogue of the Library which His Highness hade of my Lord Lumley, £8:13:0.*"¹⁸⁸ Edward Wright, the mathematician, was made librarian at a salary of thirty pounds a year. Henry added to the library from time to time. He is said to have acquired the entire collection of a certain learned but now

¹⁸⁷ Edward Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum*, 1870, p. 162. Cf. Fletcher, pp. 55-56.

¹⁸⁸ Edward Edwards, *Libraries and Founders of Libraries*, New York, 1865, p. 162, quoting from MSS. S. P. O. Dom., James I, LVII, No. 87, p. 4. This "valuable document illustrates both the tastes and the charities of Prince Henry very strikingly. He gives very long prices for great horses. His charges for tennis balls sometimes amount to twenty-five pounds (in the money of 1610) in a single quarter. But the entries which indicate his kindness of nature are more numerous still" (Edwards, *Libraries*, p. 162 n.).

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forgotten Welshman, named Morice.¹⁸⁹ In the privy purse book for 1609–1610 are many entries like the following “*To a Frenchman, who presented a book to His Highness, £4:10:0.*”¹⁹⁰ Representative of the “Booke Expenses” during 1610–1612 is the following list:

	li.	s	d
To John Bull, Doctor of Musycke for sundry sortes of Musicke Bookes.	xxxv		
To Edward Blount, Stationer, for certain books by him deliuered towards the fur- nishinge of the princes library at St James	cxxij	xv	
For books deliuered into the princes library at seuerall times between the 29 th of Febru- ary 1608 and his highness deathe.	ccclxxx	xix	vij
For books deliuered by the princes comaunde for the library at St Andrews in Scotland.	lvij	xvij	iiij
Bookes and a case to keepe bookes.	xxj	xvj	¹⁹¹

A Dutchman got fifteen shillings for “presentinge a law booke”; the donor of a “great dictionarye,” twenty shillings; and “a Ffrencheman that made the frontispece of the Byble” drew ten.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Page 163.

¹⁹⁰ The same.

¹⁹¹ *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. xiii.

¹⁹² Page xvii. Henry collected, too, a notable gallery of paintings. Cornwallis tells of his interest “in limming and painting, carving, in all sorts of excellent and rare Pictures, which hee had brought unto him from all Countries” (*The life and death*, sig. G5). Cf. *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, pp. xiv–xv; Chamberlain, I, 391; *State Papers, Venetian*, X, 500, XII (ed. H. F. Brown, 1905), 106, 383–384; *State Papers, Domestic, James I, II* (1858), 4.

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At Whitehall on February 2, 1609, Anne and her ladies staged Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Queens*. Henry took a keen interest in the work and asked the poet to provide a clue to the abstruse learning with which it was packed. When the mask appeared in quarto later in the year, it carried a noble dedication to "the glorie of our owne, and greefe of other Nations":

And when *Necessitie* (excellent Lord) the Mother of the *Fates*, hath so prouided, that yo^r forme should not more insinuate you to the eyes of men, then yo^r vertue to they^r mindes; it comes neare a wonder, to thinke how sweetely that habit flowes in you, and wth so howrely testimonies, w^{ch} to all posterity might hold the dignitie of Examples. Amongst the rest, Yo^r fauor to letters, and these gentler studies, that goe vnder the title of Humanitye, is not the least honor of yo^r wreath. . . . *Poetry*, my Lord, is not borne wth euery man; Nor euery day: And, in her generall right, it is now my minute to thanke yo^r Highnesse, who not only do honor wth yo^r eare, but are curious to examine her wth yo^r eye, and inquire into her beauties, and strengths. Where, though it hath prou'd a worke of some difficulty to mee to retriue the particular *authorities* (according to yo^r gracious command, and a desire borne out of iudgment) to those things, w^{ch} I writt ovt of fullnesse, and memory of my former readings; Yet, now I haue ouercome it, the reward that meetes mee is double to one act: w^{ch} is, that thereby, yo^r excellent vnderstanding will not only iustefie mee to yo^r owne knowledge, but decline the stiffnesse of others originall Ignorance, already armd to censure. For w^{ch} singular bounty, if my *Fate* (most excellent Prince, and *only Delicacy of mankind*) shall reserue mee to the Age of yo^r Actions, whether in the Campe, or the Councell-Chamber, y^t I may write, at nights, the deedes of yo^r dayes; I will then labor to bring forth some worke as worthy of yo^r fame, as my ambition therin is of yo^r pardon.

YOUTH

By the most trew admirer of yo^r Highnesse Vertues,
And most hearty Celebrater of them.

Ben: Jonson.¹⁹³

Jonson's lines reveal Henry's literary curiosity and the stimulus he gave a great poet. And "under the courtly deference of Jonson's fine dedication it is easy to read not merely genuine admiration but an almost fatherly tenderness and pride; his own dead son ('Ben Jonson his best piece of poetry'), whom he had lost at seven, some six years before, would have been within two years"¹⁹⁴ of Henry's age.

Literary men other than Ben Jonson honored Henry in 1609. Sir John Skene, distinguished Scottish lawyer, sent Henry a special copy of his magnum opus, *Regiam maiestatem Scotiæ veteres leges et constitutiones*, with a Latin letter dated at Edinburgh, October 5, in which he prayed that all Christian virtues would shine in the prince.¹⁹⁵ Pierre Eron-delle, a French schoolmaster in London, translated at the suggestion of Hakluyt the first book in English on the explorations of Samuel Champlain in Canada written by Marc Lescarbot, addressed it to Henry as the "BRIGHT STARRE OF THE NORTH," and declared that

*your poore Virginians doe secme to implore your Princely aide,
to helpe them to shake off the yoke of the diuel, who hath
hitherto made them liue worse then beasts, that hencefoorth
they may be brought into the fould of Christ.*¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ Jonson, VII, 280-281. The handsome holograph manuscript which Jonson made for Henry (the text of the Herford-Simpson edition) is MS. Royal 18 A. XLV in the British Museum.

¹⁹⁴ II (1925), 282.

¹⁹⁵ It is printed in Birch, pp. 426-427.

¹⁹⁶ *Nova Francia: or the description of that part of New France, which is one continent with Virginia*, sig. ¶¶v. Early in 1609 the

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He exhorts Henry to be a planter as well as a defender of the faith. Colonizing ardor and Christianizing zeal look to him and James for leadership. Bishop Hall, dedicating *The peace of Rome*, declares that

God calleth your Highnes by iust inheritance to defend his faith. This diuine royaltie accompanies your Princedome in a blessed society: wherein your challenge is not more true, then your patterne admirable.¹⁹⁷

Clement Cotton's translation of Calvin's *A commentary vpon the prophēcie of Isaiah* is addressed to Henry and his "most deare Sister," Elizabeth. In the "eies of all the kingdome" Henry is the hope "of excellent vertue and zealous proceedings in the aduancement of Christian religion."¹⁹⁸ William Cowper, "*Minister at Perth*" (and later bishop), dedicating to James, Anne, and Henry, respectively, his *Three heavenly treatises vpon the eight chapter of the Romanes*, feels assured of Henry's progress in virtue.¹⁹⁹ William Crashaw's *The sermon preached at the crosse, Feb. xiiij. 1607* is dedicated in its 1609 edition in violently antipapal terms. Upon Henry all the eyes of Christendom are set. He walks in such godly paths that

your personall practise of Religion, and the religious gouernment of your honourable houshold, may be a patterne to all the greate families of these kingdomes; wherin if Popery and profaneness

Venetian ambassador reported that Henry had put some money into the Virginian venture that he might have a claim to the colony after his succession (*State Papers, Venetian*, XI, 237).

¹⁹⁷ Sigs. A2-A2^v.

¹⁹⁸ Sig. 14.

¹⁹⁹ Sigs. Dd5-Dd6^v contain the epistle to Henry.

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found no better cōutenance nor encouragemēt, then in the Princes Court, it were happy for our Church and State.

. . . Surely the hope of the Christian world is, that God hath appointed and annointed our gracious Souereigne, and his royall issue, to hold vp his religion in these declining daies, and to giue the Whore of Babylon that foil, & fall, from which she shall neuer rise. . . .

Now, somewhat to stir vp and prouoke your heroical heart, and princely spirits to a yet farther detestation of popish impietye; vouchsafe (hopeful Prince) the reading and patronage of this discourse: . . . hate the whore and make her desolate, & eate her flesh, and burne her with fire.²⁰⁰

Dedicating Catholique traditions. Or a treatise of the beliefe of the Christians of Asia, Evropa, and Africa, in the principall controuersies of our time. In favour of the lovers of the Catholicke trueth, and the peace of the church, Morton Eudes looks to Henry to re-establish peace in the church “through the reconcilment of the differences, which ignorance, auarice and ambition haue hatched, and which passion and stomacke doe as yet maintaine.” He concludes that

by reason of the bountie and courage of your nature; you are the second hope of great Britane, and make men expect great and mighty desseignes at your hands, and such shal be profitable to all Christendome: and (if it please God) to be one day a principall instrument to tame these damnable Monsters of wicked factions and pernitiuous sects, which haue almost made a spoile of the body of Christ his Church.²⁰¹

Eudes speakes of the “gratious respect which naturally you doe shew vnto all men, which through any merite or seruice

²⁰⁰ Sigs. ¶2^v–¶3.

²⁰¹ Sig. A2^v.

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doe seeke the honour of your fauour.”²⁰² George Chapman dedicates *Euthymiae raptus; or the teares of peace: with interlocutions*, happy before the prospect of peace which Henry nurtures:

And thou, great Prince of men; let thy sweete graces
Shine on these teares; and drie, at length, the faces
Of Peace, and all her heauen-allyed brood;
From whose Doues eyes, is shed the precious blood
Of Heauens deare Lamb, that freshly bleeds in them.
Make these no toyes then; gird the Diadem
Of thrice great Britaine, with their Palm and Bayes;
And with thy Eagles feathers, daigne to raise
The heauie body of my humble Muse;
That thy great *Homers* spirit in her may vse
Her topless flight, and beare thy Fame aboue
The reach of Mortalls, and their earthly loue;
To that high honour, his *Achilles* wonne,
And make thy glory farre out-shine the Sunne.²⁰³

Chapman “had been a sewer-in-ordinary in Prince Henry’s household for five or six years and doubtless had received a tacit promise of the Prince’s support before resuming his translation of Homer which had been in abeyance for eleven years.” The “Corollarium ad Principem” at the end of *Euthymiae raptus* reveals that Henry acknowledged “his Homer after the publication of the *Twelue Bookes*, and commanded him to proceed with the rest of the translation”:

Thus shooke I this abortiue from my Braine;
Which, with it, laie in this vnworthy paine:

²⁰² Sigs. A4–A4^v.

²⁰³ *The Poems of George Chapman*, ed. Phyllis B. Bartlett, New York, 1941, p. 178.

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Yet since your HOMER had his worthy hand
 In vent'ring this delaie of your Command,
 To end his *Iliades*; deigne (Great Prince of men)
 To holde before it your great Shielde; and then
 It may, doe seruice, worthy this delaie,
 To your more worthy Pleasure; and I maie
 Regather the sperst fragments of my spirits,
 And march with HOMER through his deathless merits,
 To your vndying graces.²⁰⁴

Henry had appointed Thomas Lydiat his chronographer and cosmographer, taken him into his household as reader, and granted him an annual pension of forty marks and the use of the royal library. Lydiat rightly dedicated to him his *Emendatio temporum compendio facta ab initio mundi ad præsens vsque*.²⁰⁵ Music bowed to Henry when Alfonso Ferrabosco in presenting his *Ayres* asked, "And to a Composition so full of *Harmony* as yours, what could bee a fitter Offring?"²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Pages 480, 199-200. *Twelue bookes of the Iliads*, published in this year, was dedicated to Henry; so was the complete *Iliads* (1611) and the *Whole workes of Homer* (1616). For the dedicatory epistle, see below, pp. 104-105.

²⁰⁵ Sigs. [A₃-A₇^v].

²⁰⁶ Sig. [A₂]. In 1605 Ferrabosco had received a pension of fifty pounds per annum for instructing the prince in music (*State Papers, Domestic, James I*, I, 198); in 1610 Jerome Herne drew a salary of twenty pounds as one of Henry's musicians (Nichols, II, 185 n.); and there is a record of his gift of thirty pounds to "Ffrenche musycons" (*Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. xvii). Henry's love of music was growing beyond his boyish fondness for drums and trumpets; in 1611 he had the Venetian ambassador spend a whole day with him tilting, talking about horses, and listening to "his music in various kinds of concert" (*State Papers, Venetian*, XII, 194).

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In the spring of 1609, Phineas Pett, along with several others, was made the target of an inquiry into naval abuses. Pett's enemy, the timeserving Earl of Northampton, pushed the inquiry with malice and violence. But Henry stood loyally by his shipwright. Near the time for the trial he led Pett by the hand through the park to Whitehall "in the public view and hearing of many people there attending to see him pass to the King, his father." In May the king, Henry, and their retainers went to Woolwich for a decision in the inquiry. The while Pett "sat upon . . . [his] knees, baited by the great Lord and his bandogs; . . . the Prince's Highness, standing near . . . [him], from time to time encouraged . . . [him] as far as he might without offence to his father, labouring to have . . . [him] eased by standing up, but his Majesty would not permit it." When Pett was shortly vindicated, his young master called out in a high voice as the crowd shouted approval, "Where be now these perjured fellows that dare thus abuse his Majesty with these false informations, do they not worthily deserve hanging?" And as Northampton, crestfallen, took the back way to his coach in great discontent, Henry raised Pett from his knees, rejoiced with him in his vindication, and "protested he would not only countenance and comfort me hereafter but care to provide for me and my posterity while he lived."²⁰⁷

The chronicle of Henry's youth may well end with a record of a visit to Deptford he and his father and various lords made on December 30, 1609, for the launching of two ships being built there for the East India Company. A great banquet was served them in the cabin of the larger ship in china dishes which the guests kept as souvenirs. After the

²⁰⁷ *Autobiography*, pp. 50, 60, 62, 66-67.

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king had honored Sir Thomas Smith, governor of the company, by placing around his neck a collarlike chain carrying the royal likeness, he christened the larger ship *Trade's Increase*. Then Henry dubbed the pinnace, *Pepper Corn*.²⁰⁸

After February 19, 1610, Henry, turned sixteen, was increasingly putting aside youthful things to enter upon his heritage as Prince of Wales.

²⁰⁸ Thus Birch, pp. 181–182, who follows Winwood and Stow; but Pett (p. 75) has James naming both ships and the tide delaying the actual launching.

PART II

PRINCE OF WALES

(1610-1612)

BEFORE 1609 had closed Henry had secured James's consent to his solemn investiture with the title of Prince of Wales. The ceremony was set for June, and court life moved toward it. The celebrations were wholly to Henry's taste. "With a passion for tourneys and all other chivalrous exercises far beyond the wont of other princes of his time, coupled with a no less genuine love of letters, the semi-dramatic festivity of 'Barriers' was as it were made for his mind. He threw himself into the device with great gusto."¹ On the last day of the old year a challenge had been delivered in the presence chamber by Henry as Meliades, Lord of the Isles (an ancient title for the Scottish heir apparent) to all knights of Great Britain for the barriers. This title, Henry's choice, became his customary style in martial sports and masquerades.² Thereafter until January 6

¹ *Jonson*, II, 283.

² Drummond of Hawthornden explains the title in *Teares, on the death of Mæliades*, 1613 (*Works*, ed. L. E. Kastner, Manchester,

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Henry kept open table at St. James's at a cost of one hundred pounds a day. On the sixth the barriers took place

at the Pallace of White Hall in the presence of the King and Queene, and the Ambassadors of Spaine, and Venice, and of al the Péeres & great Ladies of the land with a multitude of others: in the great banqueting-house, all these were assembled; at the vpper end whereof was the Kings Chayre of State, and on the right hand thereof, was a sumptuous paulien for the Prince and his associats, from whence with great brauery and ingenious deuices, they descended into the middle of the Roome, and there the Prince performed his first fcates of armes, that is to say, at Barriers against all commers, beeing assisted onely with sixe others, . . . Euery Challenger fought with eight seuerall defendants, two seuerall combats at the two seuerall weapons, viz. at push of pike, and with single sword, the Prince performed this challenge with wonderous skill, and courage, to the great ioy and admiration of all the beholders. . . . These feates of armes with their triumphant shewes began before ten a clocke [*sic*] at night, and continued there vntill the next morning being Sunday: and that day the Prince feasted all the combatants, at Saint Iames, and then gaue rich prizes vnto thrée of the best deseruers defendants.³

Ben Jonson, called on to provide “ingenious devices,” first has Arthur (discovered as a “starre about”), Merlin, and the Lady of the Lake appear and lament the decay of chivalry. Then they foretell its revival through Meliades, soon revealed with his six assistants in a place called St. George's Portico. After an extensive summary of English history,

1913, I, 75), as an anagram on “Miles a deo,” misspelling the name for the purpose.

³ Stow, sig. Ffff4^v.

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Merlin charms Chivalry from her long sleep by sounding Meliades' name. Of him that lady exclaims:

O I could gaze a day
Vpon his armour that hath so reuiu'd
My spirits, and tels me that I am long liu'd
In his apparance.

When the barriers are staged, Merlin assures James and Anne that

this yong Knight, that now puts forth so soone
Into the world, shall in your names atchieue
More *ghyrlands* for this state, and shall relieue
Your cares in gouernment.⁴

Amid great pomp on January 7 Henry escorted his father to St. James's. There the Prince's Men performed at ten in the evening after Henry had given a supper to those who ran at barriers.⁵ The play over, the court enjoyed a "set banquet" at a great table over one hundred and twenty feet long in the gallery where supper had earlier been served, and feasted there until three in the morning.⁶

In April Frederic Ulric, son of the Duke of Brunswick, was visiting in England. Henry entertained his cousin royally in London. On the twentieth they enjoyed a furious fight between a lion and four dogs at the Tower.⁷ On St. George's Day the loyal and loving citizens of Chester were showing their devotion to their prince in a great "triumph."

⁴ *Jonson*, VII, 335-336.

⁵ *Chambers*, IV, 124 n.

⁶ Pett, p. 76. It took a warrant for £1,986/9/7 to cover "pearls, silks, and other necessities, for the Prince, at the barriers, &c." (*State Papers, Domestic, James I*, I, 587).

⁷ Boderie, V, 222; Stow, sig. Ffff4.

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Richard Davies dedicated to Henry the account of these "most delightfull, pleasant, and rare Shewes":

CHESTER to her Prince.

*Vnto the boundlesse Ocean, most dread Prince,
Of thy surmounting Great magnificence,
Doe we (poore Palatines) from our best hearts,
(Enlarg'd with Loue of thine admired Parts)
Blushing, obiect to thy deepe Iudgements eye,
The fruit (though poore) of rich Loues industrie.
Not that we are Ambitious, or that wee
Can thinke it worthy; of (most worthy) THEE.
But, with our best integritie, to show
The Awfull Duetie which our Loues doe owe,
To thy great Greatnesse; who (beyond compare)
Doth shine so bright in our Loues Hemisphere
That, in thy right, our Hearts, Liues, Limmes and Swords,
Shall stretch our Actions farre beyond our Words.⁸*

The shows "devised by Robert Amerie, an ex-sheriff of the town, . . . consisted of a horse-race on the Roodeye, after a procession in which the bearers of the bells that served as prizes were accompanied by St. George and his dragon pursuing a Green man or 'wodwose', while speeches were uttered by Fame, Mercury, Chester, Britain, Cambria, Rumour and Peace, and Joy composed a *débat* between Love and Envy." ⁹ Davies declares:

The chiefest part of this people-pleasing spectacle, consisted in three Bees, *viz.* *Boyes*, *Beasts*, and *Bels*, *Bels* of a strange amplitude and extraordinarie proportion; *Beasts* of an excellent shape, and most admirable swiftnesse, and *Boyes* of rare Spirit, and

⁸ *Chesters triumph in honor of her prince*, 1610, sig. A2.

⁹ Chambers, I, 134-135.

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exquisite performance. . . . intended . . . for the ioyfull celebration of *Cambers* boundlesse glory.¹⁰

Mercury speaks for all the gods:

And know (deere Sir) thy deedes and good deserts,
Thy well disposed Nature, Minde, and thought,
Thy zealous care to keepe their Lawes diuine,
Thy great compassion on poore wights distrest,
Thy prudence, iustice, temp'rance, and thy truth,
And, to be brieft, thy vertues generall,
Haue mou'd them all from Heau'n, with one assent,
To send Me downe, to let thee vnderstand
That thou art highly in their Fauors plac'd.¹¹

To the "Prop of Englands ioy" Cambria pledges undying loyalty.

"Fast-posting *Time*" at length brought forth that long-wished-for day of the creation. At about twelve o'clock on May 30, Henry, accompanied by various young noblemen and his servants, rode from St. James's to Richmond. There he supped and passed the night. Next day the lord mayor, the aldermen, and "thirtie six severall Companies of Citizens of diuers callings, in so many severall Barges, with all Citie-like braverie possible, with their severall Flagges, Banners, Colours, Armes, Trumpets, Drummes, and Phyfes, . . . came from their mighty and renowned City, up the silver-streamed River, to welcom, meet and accompany his Highnesse, towards the solemne Action."¹² Henry finally arrived at Chelsea at four in the afternoon, having been

¹⁰ *Chesters triumph*, sig. A2^v.

¹¹ Sig. B₃.

¹² Cornwallis, *The life and death*, sig. B2^v.

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delayed by the low ebb of the river. Neptune, seated on a barge, and Corinea, "a very fayre and beautifull Nimphe, representing the Genius of olde Corineus' Queene and the Provençe of Cornewall," riding a whale, greeted him. One chronicler longs for "such a copious braine and liberrall plentie of arte as might suffice to declare the Royall respect and affabilitie of the Prince, not only to my Lord Maior and his Bretheren, but to all the Companies in generall, spreading his gracious acceptaunce of their love and kindnes, like to the large extended winges of Jove's birde the eagle, even over them all; and standing in the dore of his bardge, he suffered no occasion to passe him, but still it tooke holde of his grace and liking." Amphion, riding on a dolphin and "with his wreathe of sea-shelles on his head, and his harpe hanging in fayre twine before him; personating the Genius of Wales," said a sweet farewell to Henry.¹³ Salutes and a "triumphall noyse of drommes and trumpets" followed. All "eyes were bent towards so joyfull and desired a sight: they came altogether rowing downe the proud River, which for two or three miles together, seemed to be covered with Pin-naces, Barges[,] Boates, and Oares unto *Whitehall* bridge at the Court, where hee was also received, and welcommed by the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privie Counsel, with divers others, and from thence by them conducted unto his Majestie, where he remained untill the time of his *Creation*." ¹⁴ James, Anne,

¹³ *London's love to the royal Prince Henrie*, 1610, in Nichols, II, 320-321. "It appears from the city records that the device was by Munday, and that Richard Burbadge and John Rice of the King's men delivered the speeches as Amphion and Corinea. . . . Doubtless Munday also wrote the description" (Chambers, IV, 72).

¹⁴ Cornwallis, *The life and death*, sig. B3.

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Charles, and Elizabeth had stood in the "Privie Gallerie window to see the order of their comming."¹⁵

On Sunday, June 4, James made twenty-five knights of Bath in honor of Henry;¹⁶ and the next day he duly created his son Prince of Wales. Into the great white chamber of Westminster where both Houses of Parliament and the ambassadors were assembled came James with his train. At the lower end of the chamber Henry entered, bareheaded, wearing a close-girt fur coat of purple velvet, and heralded by numerous noblemen and sounding trumpets. He made low obeisance three times to the king seated on his throne. Then he kneeled before him on a rich cushion while the Earl of Salisbury read the letters patent. At the reading of the words of investiture, James and his two assistants put the robes on Henry, girded on the sword, invested him with the rod and ring, and set the cap and coronet on his head. Henry with a low reverence offering to depart, his father stepped to him, took him by the hand, and kissed him. The creation ended, Henry arose and was escorted by the Earls of Worcester and Suffolk to his seat in Parliament on the left hand of his father. Parliament was prorogued until Thursday when the ceremonies were over, and a solemn and stately procession passed out of the hall toward the bridge.¹⁷

¹⁵ Nichols, II, 326.

¹⁶ Henry kept a quicker sense of the dignity of knighthood than his father did. The Venetian ambassador informs us that he canceled the names of many who were down on James's list because they were not to his taste, and checked the efforts of some who sought to push ahead by the usual method of paying a good round sum for a title (*State Papers, Venetian*, XI, 503, 516). But James, it seems, countered Henry's desire to go to Parliament in a procession and insisted that he go and return by water, though he allowed him much pomp in this arrangement (XI, 496).

¹⁷ Birch, pp. 192-194.

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James and the prince "took water together, the trumpets sounding in the row-barge all the way as they went."¹⁸ They landed at Whitehall stairs to be received by the Knights of Bath and the noblemen who had preceded them, and thereafter were conducted up to the Great Chamber. James dined in his privy chamber, but Henry was served in the hall at a very long table, somewhat removed from the noblemen seated before it. The knights sat at a long side-board. Throughout the dinner the hall "resounded with all kinds of most exquisite Musick."¹⁹

"The next Day was graced with a most glorious *Maske* [*Thetys Festival* by Samuel Daniel], which was double. In the first, came first the little Duke of *Yorke* betweene *two great Sea Slaves*, the cheefest of *Neptune's* Servants, attended upon by *twelve little Ladies*, all of them Daughters of Earls or Barons. By one of these Men a Speech was made unto the King and Prince, expressing a Conceit of the Maske; by the other, a *Sword* worth 20000 Crowns at the least was put into the Duke of *York's* hands, who presented the same unto the Prince his Brother from the first of those Ladies which were to follow in the next Maske."²⁰ Later on in the show Triton delivered "*Thetys* message with her Presents (which was a Trident to the King, and a rich sword and skarfe to the Prince of Wales)":

*And therewithall she wils him, greete the Lord
And Prince of th' Iles (the hope and the delight,
Of all the Northerne Nations) with this sword
Which she vnto Astræa sacred found,
And not to be vnsheath'd but on iust ground.*

¹⁸ Nichols, II, 330.

¹⁹ Winwood, III, 180.

²⁰ The same.

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*Herewith, sayes she, deliuer him from mee
This skarffe, the zone of loue and Amitie,
T' ingird the same; wherein he may suruay,
Infigur'd all the spacious Emperie
That he is borne vnto another day.
Which, tell him, will be world enough to yeeld
All workes of glory euer can be wrought.*²¹

By the time the masking was over "it was high time to go to Bed, for it was within half an Hour of the Sun's, not setting, but rising: Howbeit a farther Time was to be spent in viewing and *scrambling* at one of the most magnificent Banquets that I have seen. . . .

"The third and last Day did not give Place unto any of the former, either in Stateliness of Shew or Sumptuousness in Performance. First we had the Runners at the *Tilt*; afterwards in the Evening a gallant *Sea Fight*, and lastly many rare and excellent *Fireworks*, which were seen by almost half a Million of People." ²²

Henry, "now absolute of himselfe, did take up House with a full addition of high Officers"; Sir Thomas Chaloner was his chamberlain; Sir Charles Cornwallis, treasurer; and Sir John Hollis, comptroller.²³ He directed his large household ably and grappled at once with the affairs of his new estate. The establishment of the household had evoked various flattering letters of application for posts in it.²⁴ While adding

²¹ Samuel Daniel, *The order and solemnitie of the creation of the high and mightie prince Henrie . . . whereunto is annexed the royall maske, presented by the queene and her ladies, on Wednesday at night following*, 1610, sigs. E4^v-F1.

²² Winwood, III, 181. Cf. Stow, sig. Gggg1.

²³ Cornwallis, *The life and death*, sigs. B3-B3^v. The numerous minor officers are listed in Birch, pp. 449-456.

²⁴ See Birch, pp. 209-213, quoting from Harleian MS. 7007.

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to his lands and revenues, Henry avoided too many grants and promises by declaring that he had to wait on Parliament for full freedom to act. To Wales and Cornwall he turned his attention, for he looked toward rebasing his rights and leases there, and toward an accurate survey and valuation of his lands. One Villeforest having submitted a proposal for extracting silver out of Cornwall lead, Henry asked Sir Thomas Chaloner and Sir William Godolphin to examine the project carefully.²⁵ A scheme for enlarging his revenue proposed that he obtain from James a grant of all forfeitures from recusants after payment to the king of one thousand pounds more than such forfeitures currently amounted to. The prince's counsel advised against the plan as encroaching on the power of the crown by law and as inviting the malice of recusants to focus on Henry.²⁶

Henry kept an eye on foreign affairs. On July 29 Sir Edward Cecil wrote from the camp before Juliers to give an account of his siege of the town and to complain of the treasonable insubordination of Sir Thomas Dutton. Sir Edward's own loyalty appears in his reply to an answer he had in Henry's own hand. This second letter, dated August 21, tells Henry about military details of the advancing siege. Henry had requested Sir Thomas Edmondes, ambassador to France, to send him an account of affairs there. On September 2 Newton wrote to Sir Thomas urging that report.²⁷

Nor did this warrior prince of Wales neglect the navy during the year of his creation. On January 31, April 25, and June 18 he went to Woolwich to see the ships and store-

²⁵ Sir Thomas' letter to the prince about the business is printed in Birch, pp. 205-207.

²⁶ See Birch, pp. 220-224.

²⁷ See Birch, pp. 198-203, 207-208.

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houses there. The largest vessel ever built in England—keel a hundred and fourteen feet and crossbeam forty-four—was to have been launched on September 24 before the royal family and a great number of lords. The keel for this first three-decker in the English navy had been laid back on October 20, 1608. Great dispute among the shipwrights about the design, material, and method of construction had led Henry to ask Sir Walter Raleigh for advice, apparently before the keel was laid. That great seaman set out his experienced views in a letter to Henry.²⁸ James and Henry now journeyed to Woolwich, preceding the queen, Charles, and Elizabeth, who arrived after dinner to the acclaim of drums and trumpets on the forecastle of the ship. A great crowd gathered in the ship. Henry and the lord admiral stood "where the great standing guilt cup was ready filled with wine to name the ship, so soon as she had been on float, according to ancient custom and ceremony performed at such times, by drinking part of the wine, giving the ship her name, and heaving the standing cup overboard." But the launching miscarried; the ship settled on the ground with the tide. Although James and his queen departed in disappointment at once, Henry lingered, conferred with Pett and the officers as to what to do for the ship, left the lord admiral to supervise all, and then "took horse and rode after the king to Greenwich, with promise to return back presently after

²⁸ The letter is reprinted from *Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 1656-1657, in Edward Edwards, *The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 1868, II, 330-332. Edwards dates the letter 1610 but queries that date. I have taken the date accepted by Sir Charles Firth in an excellent essay which covers Henry's friendship with Raleigh ("Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*," in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, VIII [1917-1918], 430).

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midnight." Not even a storm that blew up in the night prevented his return. "In the midst of this great gust, Prince Henry and all his [train] were taken upon the top of Blackheath in their coming to Woolwich, but his invincible spirit, daunted with nothing, made little account of it but came through, and was no sooner alighted in the yard but, calling for the Lord Admiral and myself and Sir Robert Mansell, went all presently on board the ship, being about two of the clock, almost one hour before high water; and was no sooner entered but, the word being given to set all taut, the ship went away without any straining of screws or tackles, till she came clear afloat into the midst of the channel, to the great joy and comfort of the Prince's Highness." Henry, standing on the poop, proceeded to drink from the great standing cup, then threw all the wine forward towards the half deck, and solemnly christened the ship the *Prince Royal* as trumpets sounded. He warmly commended his servant Pett for his labors, and in "the interim of warping to the moorings, . . . went down to the platform of the cook-room where the ship's beer stood for the ordinary company, and there finding an old can without a lid, went and drew it full of beer himself, and drank it off to the Lord Admiral, and caused him with the rest of his attendants to do the like." About nine of the same morning Henry returned to Greenwich to tell his father of the successful launching. Pett and his fellows drank Henry's health in the standing cup given at the launching. On December 6 Henry was aboard his ship at Woolwich, staying three hours, and being "wonderful desirous to [have] us set sail, if we could possibly have done it without danger."²⁹ The Venetian ambassador re-

²⁹ Pett, pp. 81-86.

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ported that Henry hoped to sail in his new man-of-war for a visit to his uncle in Denmark.³⁰

Such a dauntless young shipman merited the dedication of the new edition of Edward Wright's *Certaine errors in navigation*, printed in 1610. Wright, who read mathematics to Henry, had earlier "caused to be made, for his Highnesse more easie understanding of astronomie, a sphaere of wood, about three quarters of a yard diameter."³¹ Wright praises the *Prince Royal*, rejoices in the development of the science of navigation that will help take the gospel to the heathen, and, bound to Henry for "many . . . tokens of your gracious fauour towards me, of late especiallie" when least expected, will "be a continuall suitour to the Almightye for the increase and continuance of all his blessings to you both temporall and eternall."³² Thomas Blenerhasset has that "light to the heathen" in mind when, in dedicating to Henry *A direction for the plantation in Vlster* in this year, he asks that the prince sponsor the peopling of Ulster to establish the "Puritie of Religion there." But, like most religious Englishmen of his age who were looking overseas, he has his eyes on trade as well as on souls when he writes to Henry of "securing . . . that wilde Countrye to the Crowne of *England*" and increasing "the Reuenue to the Crowne" via "*many goodly strong Corporations.*"³³

Other books printed in 1610 were dedicated to Henry. George Marcelline, offering his translation of *Les trophées du Roi Jacques I*, which had been issued in 1609, addressed

³⁰ *State Papers, Venetian*, XII, 52.

³¹ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark, Oxford, 1898, II, 315-316.

³² Sig. *10^v.

³³ Sigs. A1-A2^v.

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Henry as "the *Index, Abstract, or Compendium* of the very greatest Princes whatsoever." ³⁴ He is "a warrior alreadie, both in gesture and countenance, so that in looking on him, he seemeth vnto vs, that in him we do see *Ajax* before *Troy*, crowding among the armed Troops. . . . Honour was all his nouriture, and Greatnesse his pastime (as it was saide of Alexander) and Triumph the end of all his Actions." ³⁵ Great achievements will come in due season; now he grows in grace and defers dutifully to his father; by-and-by he will "triumph" as his father's "arme and strength." ³⁶ Marcelline even counts on Henry to conquer Constantinople and to dethrone the pope! This prince, dear to zealous Protestants who hated Rome, is addressed again in Daniel Price's *The defence of truth against a booke falsely called the triumph of truth*:

MOST GRATIOUS PRINCE with all reverence and devotion, I present to your *Highnesse this labour*. To whom shoulde I dedicate it? But to your Princelie goodnes, to whose service I haue consecrated my tongue, and pen, and heart, and all the offices of my life. . . . The *infection* of Popery spreads too farre: some come not to our *Church*, others fly our *Land* and *Church*, both revile and slander the *Church*. The cies, and harts, and hopes of all the Protestant world, be fixed vpon your *Highnesse*, all expecting your *Gracious* faithfulness, & readines in the extirpation of that man of sinne. March valiantly herein, *Most*

³⁴ Sig. A2.

³⁵ Sig. L3^v. In a 1610 edition of *A mirour for magistrates* Richard Niccols dedicated *A winter nights vision* in a sonnet (sig.Oo4) that exalts the deeds of British princes above any that Chapman's Homer may celebrate. (Some copies of the 1610 *Mirour* carry this dedication to Henry along with one to the Earl of Nottingham, but others carry only that to the earl.)

³⁶ Sig. M2^v.

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Gracious Prince, and the God of Princes shall protect you, his Grace and *Providence* shall reward your faith and *Confidence*, and shall heape vpon your *Highnesse*, favor, and honor, and glory, in both worldes.³⁷

Thomas Morton dedicates to Henry *The encounter against M. Parsons* "presently after the solemnization of your Princely *Creation* with military spectacles (wherein innumerable beholders did, in your reioycing, congratulate both the happy comfort of your Royall Father, our Gracious Soueraigne, and the hopefull ioy of this whole land)." ³⁸ Morton thinks it right that Henry have the dedication of a book bent upon exposing an infamous Jesuit "who labored to vndermine the right both of his Maiesties possessions, and of your future succession in this land." ³⁹ And the translator of *The princes prayers. The first and second part* (from the French of "Heberman") pleads that the "truely royall affabilitie of your Princely minde" favor his "homely present," unworthy though it be. He prays that "no foule heart or hand at any time come neare you; no annoyance disturbe you, or euill thought offend you; but the hand of heauen for euer to blesse you, and this land of Great *Britaine* long to enjoy you." ⁴⁰ No doubt martial Henry welcomed a manuscript, *A journall relation of the seruice at the takeing in of the*

³⁷ Sigs. *2-*2^v.

³⁸ Sig. *2.

³⁹ Sig. *2^v.

⁴⁰ Sigs. A4-A5^v. Prayers for the king and queen and for "the right royall and towardly yong Prince Henry, and the rest of his Maiesties Princelie issue" open the second part of the volume. God is thanked for "bestowing vpon this our land, so hopefull a Prince as yong Henrie . . . Whereby such faire and chearefull comfort is promised, that peace for euer shall dwell within our walles, and plenty flourish in our Pallaces" (sig. M3^v).

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*towne & castle of Gulicke, this present yeare. 1610; with a platt of the towne and castle as it is againe to be fortified, dedicated by George Waymouth to "yo^r. highnes, whose rare industrie & princelie endeouour to be informed, and ripnes of vnderstanding to apprehend and iudge of matters of so greate consequence, is far beyond your yeares, & breedes admiration euen to all the world."*⁴¹ On July 25, 1610, R. Barker dedicated his copy of a Latin work, *Philippi Gualteri ab Insulis dicti de Castellione Alexandreis*: "Tantos det tibi Deus Opt. Max. in virtutis stadio progressus, ut fortitudino Alexandrum, potentia Craesum, prudentia Solomonem, pietate Josiam, diuturnitato Hestorem antecellas."⁴²

After plays by all three royal companies during Christmas week, 1611 was ushered in by a performance of Ben Jonson's *Oberon, or the fairy prince* in the banqueting house at Whitehall. In this mask designed to honor him Henry played the lead, assisted by "two Earles, three Barons, fūe knights, and two Esquires." There "was an excellent Sceane, ingenious speeches, rare songs, and great varitie of most delicate Musique."⁴³ When the satyrs asked Silenus what Prince Oberon was like they learned that

he doth fill with grace,
 Euery season, eu'ry place;
 Beautie dwels, but in his face:
 H<e>'is the height of all our race.
 Our PAN's father, god of tongue,
 BACCHVS, though he still be yong,
 PHÆBV, when he crowned sung,
 Nor MARS, when first his armor rung,

⁴¹ Royal MS. 17 B. XXXII, fols. 2-2^v

⁴² Bodleian MS. Jones 44, fol. 1^v.

⁴³ Stow, sig. Gggg5.

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Might with him be nam'd, that day.
He is louelier, then in May
Is the Spring, and there can stay,
As little, as he can decay.⁴⁴

The pretty verses that follow tell how Prince Oberon will reward satyrs (poets like Ben?). Finally Oberon advances in a chariot to be hailed as heir of Arthur's "crown and chair." Fays sing and dance, then laud him while he and the queen and her ladies do "*measures, coranto's, galliards.*" The Venetian ambassador declared the mask "very beautiful throughout, very decorative, but most remarkable for the grace of the Prince's every movement."⁴⁵ Henry inspired a graceful harmony of fairy fancy and court fact in *Oberon, or the fairy prince*. A fashionable anthology of the year, *A Poetical Rhapsody*, complimented Oberon in courtly style:

Dearling of these, of future times the glory,
Branch royall sprung from many a regall stemme,
On whose faire structure, written is the story
Of natures chefest skill, worlds choiest Iemme,
Wits richest Cabinet, vertues best aray,
Centre where lines of all hearts loues do meete.
Sweete ground whereon the Muses loue to play,
Ripe in wit, though greene in yeares, of forme most sweet
Scotlands faire fruit, Englands great hope, Frances loue,
Irelands awe, Cambriaes ioy, great Brittaines fame,
Abridgement of all worth, the mighty Ioue,
Long lengthen your good daies, and still your name,
And when you shall haue honoured long this land
Grant you a glorious Saint in heauen to stand.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Jonson, VII, 343-344.

⁴⁵ *State Papers, Venetian*, XII, 106.

⁴⁶ *A Poetical Rhapsody 1602-1621*, ed. H. E. Rollins, Cambridge,

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Unreliable reports have Oberon enmeshed in court scandal during 1611. One writer declares that the prince sought to preside over the privy council and became embroiled in strife between Viscount Rochester and the Earl of Salisbury.⁴⁷ Francis Osborne reports that Henry is said either to have struck Rochester "on the back with his racket, or very hardly forbor[n]e it."⁴⁸ Arthur Wilson, like Osborne to be read with caution, tells of bickerings between Rochester and Henry, "Rivals in Passion" for the notorious Countess of Essex. Wilson suggests that Henry's interest in Frances Howard was grounded rather upon "Envy of the Man, than Love of the Woman." He tells that Henry, given her glove lost at a dance, spurned it because it had been "stretcht by another, meaning the Viscount." Again Wilson reports that when Sir James Elphington observed Henry's discontent with the viscount and offered to kill him, Henry reproved him, saying, "*If there were Cause, he would do it himself.*"⁴⁹ Francis Bacon and Sir Charles Cornwallis, who as a member of his household must have observed Henry well, are good antidotes to the "very suspicious authorities"⁵⁰ I have just

Mass., I (1931), 305. Assigned to Charles Best in the 1611 edition; anonymous in the 1621 edition.

⁴⁷ Robert Johnston, *Historia Rerum Britannicarum*, cited in Birch, p. 253.

⁴⁸ *Traditionall Memoyres on the Raigne of King James the First*, in *Secret History of the Court of James the First*, ed. Walter Scott, 1811, I, 266. One would like to believe Rochester got the beating.

⁴⁹ *The Life and Reign of James, the First*, in *A Complete History of England*, 1719, II, 686, 690.

⁵⁰ Birch, p. 256. That Sir Simonds D'Ewes (*The Autobiography and Correspondence*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, 1845, I, 90-91) accepted the report that the countess "prostituted herself" to Henry may give one pause before rejecting it.

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quoted. Sir Charles declares that Henry kept his fancy free, whatever the proposals for a foreign bride or the charms of ladies more immediate. He writes that he,

having beene present at great feasts made in his house, whereunto hee invited the most beautifull and specious Ladies of the Court and City, could neither then discover by his behaviour, his eies or his countenance, any shew of singular or especiall fancy to any, or at any other time such loosenesse either in words or action, as whereupon in justice or reason to ground any such opinion of him

as held by those who, "taking measure of him by the yardwand of their own unbridled appetites, were pleased otherwise to conceive and report of him." If the prince were not chaste in his inward thoughts, he yet with "incomparable judgement and temper" so covered them "as to just and judicious eies they gave no true occasion to suspect him."⁵¹ Bacon wrote:

His passions were not over vehement, and rather equable than great. For of love matters there was wonderfully little talk, considering his age: insomuch that he passed that extremely slippery time of his early manhood, in so great a fortune and in very good health, without being particularly noted for any affairs of that kind.⁵²

After Henry had received the Garter and organized his household as Prince of Wales, he emerged as the prize in complicated marriage negotiations that continued for the rest of his life. His father grew alarmed when he got rumors of double Franco-Spanish matches which the queen regent and Villeroi had succeeded in concluding; for England

⁵¹ *A discourse*, sigs. D1^r-D2.

⁵² *Works*, VI (1858), 328.

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could afford no union of great Catholic powers across the Channel. Don Alonzo de Velasco, the Spanish ambassador to England, vigorously denied any Spanish-French matches (as did Villeroi), and then hinted at the possibility of a Spanish match for Henry. Already a minister from the Duke of Savoy had got to London to ask the hand of Elizabeth for the duke's son, the Prince of Piedmont, and to suggest the Infanta Maria for Prince Henry. Instructed to keep the two proposals together, he returned to Turin for further orders after being told in London that the match for Henry could not be considered. De Velasco now pushed his suggestion, on definite instructions, he declared, from Lerma and the king of Spain. James and Anne, delighted, told Digby, their ambassador in Madrid, to make a formal demand for the infanta's hand. Finally Lerma declared everything satisfactory, but asked "which Infanta the Ambassador meant." Digby, abashed, replied, "The eldest," only to hear that that lady was already destined for the throne of France. James was furious. Nor was he placated by De Velasco's assurance that the second infanta was available. Second might mate with second—the younger infanta with the Duke of York—but the Prince of Wales could find roses elsewhere and need not trouble about this Spanish olive. De Velasco protested that he had understood his masters to intend the eldest infanta—and retreated to a house out of range of the London mob.

When news got around that that Spanish match was off, the French envoy tentatively suggested a daughter of France. Salisbury sounded out the possibility of a Tuscan match with a fat dowry, for the Grand Duke of Tuscany was notoriously rich; and shortly the Duke of Savoy moved again for Elizabeth's hand for his son, dropping proposals about a match with her brother. But it appeared that James was

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now resolved to give his Elizabeth to Frederick, the Elector Palatine; so Savoy's envoy got a chilly reception. However, James did not wish to offend Savoy. He soon dispatched Sir Henry Wotton with a distinguished suite and with "ten light ambling geldings" and a richly jeweled sword as presents. The duke, still believing an English match possible, overwhelmed Sir Henry with attentions. The two seem to have co-operated to renew the proposal to marry the princess Maria to Henry: on Wotton's return to England the Savoy match got advanced.

But the grand duke was not idle the while. He knew that a match between his sister and the heir to England's throne would be worth the large dowry James was sure to demand—that it would pitch him high above Savoy in prestige. Salisbury and Sir Thomas Chaloner, Henry's chamberlain, supported the scheme, though Anne opposed it. James, his eye on a maximum dowry, played Savoy against Tuscany, as each now sought to outbid the other. He insisted that he was willing to allow his son's wife the free exercise of her religion in her private apartments. His land, however, began to cry out in the pulpit against a Catholic match. And the pope as vigorously opposed any Protestant match unless the question of religion had first been settled to his taste. Savoy seems to have intended to drive ahead in spite of the pope. Tuscany, however, showed a desire to conciliate Rome, for he sent Don Giovanni de' Medici to seek the papal approval. But when that ambassador tried to force the hand of his holiness by declaring that the grand duke had advanced too far toward England to retire, the pope in anger declared he neither could nor would agree to the match. Actually, Spain was at work in Rome to kill both the Tuscan and the Savoyard match. In London, Savoy redoubled his efforts as delay

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in Rome seemed to darken Tuscan prospects. And, adding complications, French proposals now got active anew.

Most interesting to us, of course, is Henry's attitude toward all this matrimonial maneuvering around him. He took little direct part in the discussions, perhaps for fear of irritating his father, with whom he had not always known perfect harmony.⁵³ However much Henry kept in the background of negotiations more and more complicated, he did turn in 1611 to his friend Sir Walter Raleigh for counsel about the two foreign matches that were then most agitated. At Henry's express request, Raleigh, shut in the Tower since 1604 on trumped up charges of treason, submitted a *Discourse touching a marriage between Prince Henry of England and a daughter of Savoy* and a *Discourse touching a match propounded by the Savoyan between the Lady Elizabeth and a Prince of Piedmont*. In the latter Raleigh argues wisely against unions which would result in England's subservience to Spain, Savoy's master. He declares:

While the Prince is unmarried, all the eyes of Christendom are upon him; for with what King soever he shall be balanced, he will cast the scale; . . . I would advise the Prince to keep his own Ground for a while, and no way to engage or entangle himself.

⁵³ On May 4, 1611, the Venetian ambassador, Marc' Antonio Correr, reports a tiff between James and his son: Henry did not share his father's devotion to the chase. One day at Royston James chid him for lack of interest in hunting. Henry showed resentment, whereupon James threatened him with his cane. Henry spurred his horse and galloped off, followed by most of the company. When he begged his father's pardon that evening, James had recovered his temper enough to reply, "Well, you are no sportsman" (*State Papers, Venetian*, XII, 142, and Introd., p. xi). There is more than one report that James was envious of Henry's popularity.

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Raleigh is sure that if England looks for allies in Savoy and Florence "we leave, those that are strongest and nearest us, for those, that are weakest and furtherest off." ⁵⁴ To the Savoy match Henry seems at first to have lent some approval: he thought Savoy's blood noble enough and he liked the adventurous spirit of the duke. To the Tuscan match he showed aversion: "If the Grand Duke was not good enough for the Princess Elizabeth the Grand Duke's sister was not good enough for him." ⁵⁵ He even talked vaguely of marrying in England, perhaps with an eye on the popular favor such talk would win. Confronted by the prospect of a Catholic spouse, he once declared that "two religions should never lie in his bed." ⁵⁶ Here is the key, no doubt, to the opposition which, under the influence of Count Maurice, he displayed towards the end when negotiations approached a showdown. He had drawn up a number of reasons against the match before his fatal illness kept him from the council summoned to consider the final answer to Savoy. No doubt he thought that any Catholic match would hamper the design he appears to have nourished—encouraged by many zealous Protestants—to make himself the head of an active anti-Catholic party in Europe. Report has it that he looked forward to accompanying his sister when she went to Germany as the Elector's bride, there to choose a Protestant princess for himself. ⁵⁷

Henry's keen interest in ships, guided by Raleigh, continued. On April 30 he informed Pett that he would journey

⁵⁴ *The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt.*, Oxford, 1829, VIII, 250, 252.

⁵⁵ *State Papers, Venetian*, XII, p. xi.

⁵⁶ Gardiner, II (1883), 157.

⁵⁷ My account of the marriage negotiations is based on Brown's excellent summary, *State Papers, Venetian*, XII, vii-xii.

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privately to Chatham. Early on May 6 he took barge at Whitehall, accompanied by the earls of Shrewsbury, Arundel, and Mar, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Sir Oliver Cromwell, Sir Robert Mansell, and some others of his household servants. About nine he came on board a small merchant ship provided for his refreshment at Tilbury Hope. He got to Chatham a little before six that evening and "thence walked on foot to Mr. Legatt's house, where his supper was ready prepared for him and his train, to his great content." On Tuesday morning he made an inspection of his ship, the *Prince Royal*, and examined other vessels in the lower reach, making notes in "his own table-book" as to their state and condition. He landed for dinner, showed himself very cheerful, and drank healths to the salute of fifteen great brass chambers. After dinner he went on each of the ships and pinnaces in the upper reach and carefully made notes of their states. When he departed after breakfast on Wednesday he heard farewell shots over his barge from the ships in both reaches, "notwithstanding all the persuasion to the contrary." His coaches received him when he landed at Stroud. At Gravesend the magistrates welcomed him with all their small shot and the ordnance of the blockhouses.⁵⁸

Many books were offered to Henry in 1611. Antipapal volumes bid for him as champion in the fight against Rome. Robert Abbot dedicated *The true ancient Roman Catholike. Being an apology or counterprooffe against Doctor Bishops reproofe of the defence of the reformed Catholike*. He declares that he wishes

your Princely name may more and more grow great, and may be a terrour to that selfe-exalting Kingdome and Monarchy of

⁵⁸ Based on Pett, pp. 89-90, and Birch, p. 243.

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*the great Capitolian Priest, at length to work the utter ruine and confusion thereof. Which as we beleue not to bee farre of, so we hope that in that glorious reuenge of the cause of almighty God, your Highnesse shall haue a chiefe, and an honourable part, and that God will strengthen your arme, and giue edge to your sword to strike through the loines of all them that are supporters of that Antichristian and wicked state.*⁵⁹

The prince and Henry IV of France had been on friendly terms; so the murder of that king by Ravallac in the spring of the preceding year had been distressing news. Now the author of *The French herald summoning all true Christian princes to a generall croisade for a holy warre against the great enemy of Christendome, and all his slaues* is inspired by that "execrable murther of HENRY the Great" to cry to the great English Henry and his father to lead "our Christian Army . . . into the field."⁶⁰ James's apology for the fresh oath of allegiance which he imposed on English Romanists after the Gunpowder Plot had evoked several replies from Catholics. Among them was one by Martin Becanus, a Jesuit, printed at Mentz in 1610. The next year William Tooker, dean of Lichfield, retorted to Becanus in *Dvellvm siue singulare certamen cum Martino Becano Jesuita*, and dedicated his work to Henry as the "Maecenas of all the learned."⁶¹ To Henry, Robert Burhill dedicated a contribu-

⁵⁹ Sigs. ¶5-¶5^r.

⁶⁰ Sig. A2^r. The unknown author declares that it was "most speciall and holy zeale to your Princely seruice, which euen eight years ago, brought me into your Country."

⁶¹ Sig. A3. Birch (p. 253) tells of another piece written against Becanus and also addressed to Henry, printed at Oppenheim in the Lower Palatine in 1611: *Becano-baculus Salcolbrigiensis; vel refutatio Becanici examinis plagæ regię quoad orthodoxam Protes-*

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tion to the controversy as fired by Bishop Andrewes' *Tortura torti*, a reply to Cardinal Bellarmine, who, under the pseudonym of "Matthæus Tortus" had answered James.

In pignus, ab vno de multis, accipe & hæc fidelis studij monimenta: Tibi adiudicata, per Te etiam iudicanda.

Potes enim (nam te quoque famâ accepimus) vel abstrusiora iudicare. Nec ita vnquam placuit Celsitudini Tuæ ætate adhuc herbescente, ad summas res agendas (quibus natus es) & ad bellum æquè, & pacem gerendam exerceri: vt non & omnia sacrosanctæ Religionis mysteria, à teneris intellecta, amplexus semper summâ veneratione fueris: & in ceteris interim nostris studijs neque hospes, neque peregrinus esse volueris. Sic quoque & Chironis antiqui Schola heroicas indoles humanioribus literis temperasse dicitur: & Alexandrum Magnum pater, ipse etiam bello & prudentiâ magnus, Scholasticis, studijs innutriti voluit.⁶²

Thus the controversialists.

Of a different complexion was Thomas Coryat. That curious literary creature presented *Coryats crudities hastily gobled vp in five moneths trauels*.⁶³ A member of Henry's household, he declares that one reason for dedicating his work to his master is that encouragement from Henry would lead noble youths of his court to travel and get a finished education, especially in the languages, and thus be better able

tantum doctrinam, & serenissimi regis Angliæ primatum ecclesiæ regium.

⁶² *Pro tortura torti, contra Martinum Becanum Iesuitam, responsio Roberti Burhilli Angli*, sigs. a4-a4^v.

⁶³ Sigs. a4-b1^v. The presentation copy is in the Grenville Library of the British Museum. On sigs. Aaa7-Aaa8^v a Latin prose epistle dedicates *Posthuma fragmenta poematum Georgii Coryati*, pieces that conclude the volume. Nichols (II, 400 n.) says that Ben Jonson, "apparently at the desire of Prince Henry, undertook to arrange that immense farrago of burlesque."

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to serve their prince. Coryat's next opus was *Coryats crambe, or his col wort twise sodden, and now serued in with other macaronicke dishes, as the second course to his crudities*. After a flamboyant petition to Henry to smile upon his volume now that it has lost the support of the Archbishop of Canterbury, deceased, comes an oration "pronounced to the Prince in the Priuie Chamber at S. Iames vpon Easter Munday last, betweene sixe and seuen of the Clocke in the after-noone." One can suffer but a taste of the stuff:

*I wish that by the auspicious adumbration of your Princely wings, this sencelesse Shell may prooue a liuely Birde, whose bill with length & strength may reach and pecke the very Mountaines of Arabia, and there nestle, increase and ingender, and so breede more Birds of the same feather that may in future time bee presented as nouelties vnto your heroycall protection. In the meane time receiue into your indulgent hand (I most humbly beseech your Highnesse) this tender feathered * Red-breast. Let his Cage be your Highnesse studie, his pearch your Princely hand, by the support whereof, hee may learne to chirp and sing so lowde, that the sweetnesse of his notes may yeeld a delectable resonancie Vltra Garamantas & Indos.⁶⁴*

It is a relief from Coryat to hear Chapman, who in 1609 had dedicated the second installment of his *Homer* to Henry, presenting in this year the complete translation in twenty-four books. He appeals eloquently to Henry to sponsor learning and poetry and to draw inspiration from the prince of poets:

* [Marginal note:] Because the Booke was bound in Crimson Veluet.

⁶⁴ Sigs. A₃-A₃^v. At least once Coryat received a gift of ten pounds from Henry (*Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. xvi).

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Since perfect happinesse, by Princes sought,
Is not with birth, borne, nor Exchequers bought;
Nor followes in great Traines; nor is possest
With any outward State; but makes him blest
That gouernes inward; and beholdeth theare,
All his affections stand about him bare;
That by his power can send to Towre, and death,
All traitrous passions; marshalling beneath
His iustice, his meere will; and in his minde
Holds such a scepter, as can keepe confinde
His whole lifes actions in the royall bounds
Of Vertue and Religion; and their grounds
Takes in, to sow his honours, his delights,
And complete empire: you should learne these rights
(Great Prince of men) by Princely presidents;
Which here, in all kinds, my true zeale presents
To furnish your youths groundworke, and first State;
And let you see, one Godlike man create
All sorts of worthiest men; to be contriu'd
In your worth onely.⁶⁵

About 1606 Henry had made Joshua Sylvester a groom of his chamber and given him a pension of twenty pounds a year.⁶⁶ During or before 1611 Sylvester dedicated *David. The fourth day of the second weeke* of his *Du Bartas* to this "Pattern and Patron both of Arms and Arts."⁶⁷ Sir David

⁶⁵ *Poems*, p. 385. The lines had appeared in the 1609 *Twelue Bookes*; they stood in the *Whole Workes of Homer* (1616). An anagram in the *Iliads* (p. 389) consists of the words: "OVR SUNN, HEYR, PEACE, LIFE," the letters being taken from "HENRYE PRINCE OF WALES," V counting for W.

⁶⁶ *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. xvii. The entry is for twenty pounds the year for two years.

⁶⁷ *Works*, I, 212. As early as 1607 Sylvester's *Du Bartas his second weeke* had carried, after a covering dedication to James, a dedi-

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Murray dedicated *The tragicall death of Sophonisba* in an idealizing sonnet:

Thrise Noble Prince, by birth, by blood, by fame,
Renown'd by all, whom all men do adore,
Not so much lou'd for greatnesse of your name,
As for those vertues does your name decore:
Young *Hæros*, whose hæroick actions sore
Beyond the limits of your yet-spent yeares,
Braue stately minde, wherein this time doth glorie,
Whose praises praying parts, the world admires:
Vnder the shadow of your Eagles wings,
(Since no where else she can for safety flie)
My humble Muse, most royall impe of Kings,
In tragick verse, presents your Princely eye,
With a true story of a Queenes sad case,
Who gaue her life to free a foule disgrace.⁶⁸

Robert Peake, sergeant printer to the king, dedicated his translation of Sebastiano Serlio's *The first booke of architecture*, . . . *entreating of geometrie*, and protested that no vain ambition,

but rather, the gracious Countenance, which (euen from your Childehood) you haue euer daigned to all good endeauours, invited Mee also (after so many others) to offer at the high-Altar of your Highnesse fauour, this new-Naturalized VVorke of a learned Stranger.⁶⁹

catory sonnet to Henry along with thirteen similar sonnets to various other notables. Sylvester expressed appreciation of the welcome Henry had given the 1605 volume of *Tetrastica* that the poet had dedicated to him, and heralded the presentation of "The Tropheis" and "The Magnificence" (the first two parts of *David*). See *Works*, I, 93.

⁶⁸ Sig. A2. A second sonnet (sigs. A2-A2^v) seeks Henry's favor.

⁶⁹ Sig. [A1].

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Inevitably George More dedicated to this paragon of princes *Principles for yong princes*. Henry has now entered an age for labor and study "for the honour of your selfe, and good of the commonwealth." ⁷⁰ More insists that a prince "should nourish & cherish all learning, for the attaining to all Arts and knowledge," and that "Aboue all things religion is most requisite in a Prince." ⁷¹

Throughout 1612 the stream of dedications flowed on. Antipapal writers continued to call on Henry. William Fennor presented *Pluto his trauailes, or, the diuels pilgrimage to the colledge of Iesuites*. Illustrating this violently anti-Catholic work is a picture of a priest being blessed with the cry of "Murder the King" as the devil himself stands by whispering, "I will helpe thee." Fennor would "shewe some part of my duty to my Prince, and Countrey, whose loues may commaund the best imployment of my life, for both their safeties." ⁷² Samson Lennard, genealogist, translator, and soldier who had been with Sidney at Zutphen, offers his rendering of Philippe de Mornay's *The mysterie of iniquitie: that is to say, the historie of the papacie*. He wishes

*that I may liue to march ouer the Alpes, and to trayle a pike before the walls of Rome, vnder your Highnesse Standard. It was my first profession, oh that it might be my last. The cause is Gods, the enterprise glorious, O that God would be pleased, as he hath giuen you a heart, so to giue power to put it in execution.*⁷³

⁷⁰ Sigs. A3^v-A4.

⁷¹ Sig. C8^v.

⁷² Sigs. A2-A2^v.

⁷³ Sig. ¶3^v. Lennard remembers that "it hath pleased your Highnesse, not long since, graciously to protect my sorie labours bestowed vpon Charron his three bookes of Wisedome." The dedica-

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Barnabe Rich, in *A Catholicke conference betwveene syr Tady Mac. Mareall a popish priest of Waterforde, and Patricke Plaine a young student in Trinity Colledge by Dublin in Ireland*, stands "in defence of our religiō against the eager assaults of peruerse and malicious papists," especially in Ireland, and asserts that "where their [*sic*] resteth so much presumption in Priestes to Impugne the sworde of gouernment, there must be courage in Princes to defend their owne." ⁷⁴ John Gordon, dean of Salisbury and defender of "true religion," prefixed the following verses to his blast against Bellarmine:

Ter magni Regis patris ter maxima proles,
 Aurea quem decorat gloria missa polo:
 Qui stirpē superas animis, virtutibus annos,
 Et decus, & sortem moribus eximijs:
 Te ter fœlicem clamat vox dīa popelli,
 Et patris, & patriæ spem, columenque vocat.
 His quamuis fœlix, multo at fœlicior hoc es,
 Quòd tanto, & tali sis genitore satus;
 Exemplo, & monitis rectæ quæ semita vitæ
 Qui docet, & fœlix qua ratione sies.
 Accipe, mente æqua, documenta hæc relligionis,
 Vnde salus animæ certa petenda tuæ.
 Illa fidem veram monstrant patrisque, tuamque,
 Qua sancta colitis relligione Deum.
 Quæque tuum in patrem torsit mendacia tela
 Cardineus Tortus, tortiloquusque draco:
 Tela eadem hoc libro sunt cum ratione retorta
 Contra os mendacis falsiloquiue viri.
 Defendit Patris famam, nomenque, fidemque,

tion to Henry is followed (sigs. ¶4-¶4^v) by another to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.

⁷⁴ Sigs. A2-A2^v.

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Exiguus elegis nostra Thalia tui.
Illa tuenda tuis sunt Princeps maxime factis,
Hinc quærenda tibi gloria, fama, decus.
Pro binis pugna patribus, pro Rege, Deoque:
Qui Regem lædit, lædit & ille Deum.
Viuite fœlices ambo, natusque, paterque,
Qui colitis vera religione Patrem.
Sic tali nato fœlix pater, & patre natus,
Sicque pater partiæ faustus vterque cluet.⁷⁵

The translator of Edmond Richer's *A treatise of ecclesiasticall and politike powver*, calls upon Henry to restore the liberty of "the whole Catholike Church":

Vp then, braue Prince; the eyes of all Christendome are now cast vpon you, to see you beginne; you shall not want friends and followers. . . . For if the first blow be not giuen vnto that monster by your Royal father, and the second and last by your selfe; sure, sure, I knowe not who will beginne, much lesse who shall make an end.⁷⁶

The Puritan divine, John Brinsley, the elder, spoke for all zealous Protestants in offering Henry *Lvdvs literarius: or, the grammar schoole*:

And what is it, which might still more aduance you in the eyes and hearts of all the people of your most noble Fathers Dominions; then if now from your first yeares, you might beginne to be the blessed instruments of the Almighty, of an euerlasting benefite to the present and all succeeding generations? whereby

⁷⁵ *Anti-bellarmino-tortor, siue tortus retortus & Iuliano-papismus*, sigs. A2-A2^v.

⁷⁶ Sig. A4^v. The dedication is signed by "Δ," author of *The French herald*; see above, p. 102.

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you might knit all hearts more surely vnto the holy God, and his supreame deputy here amongst vs.⁷⁷

Various sorts of volumes were dedicated in 1612. One "Benvenuto Italiano," "Professour of his Natiue Tongue, for these nine yeeres in London," vowed "deuoted Seruice" in offering his *Il passagiere* in a series of oratorical flourishes.⁷⁸ Solomon de Caus, an engineer and architect from Normandy and mathematics tutor to Henry, presented *La perspective, avec la raison des ombres et miroirs*:

Serenissime Prince, ayant depuis deux ou trois ans en ça fait aulcunes leçons de la perspective, & ayant recogneu depuis le temps que i'ay l'honneur d'estre au seruice de votre Altesse, comme elle se delecte en toutes fortes de sciences, cela m'a enhardy de mettre lesdites leçons en lumiere en langue Françoise.⁷⁹

Thomas Farnaby submitted his *Imii Iuuenalis et Avli Persii Flacci satyræ*:

. . . tibi (Princeps illustrissime) consecro. abunde meæ, in his, qualicunque operæ gratulaturus, siquid inesse sensero quod læta aspicias fronte, quodque dum vndique literarum copiam colligis quam inuicem per totum terrarum orbem dispergas, studijs tuis dignum sit. quæ vt feliciter succedant in tuam, publicam, diuinam gloriam, Deum opt. max. serio precor, cui Principum rerumque publicarum salus semper curæ.⁸⁰

William Sparke, Magdalen fellow at Oxford, presented *Vis naturæ et virtus vitæ*:

⁷⁷ Sig. ¶2^v.

⁷⁸ Sigs. §1–§3.

⁷⁹ Sig. [*2].

⁸⁰ Sig. A3.

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Eaſq; in literas & literatos benignitate, quò in plures vsus es, eo magis in multos vti poteris. . . . Quod non ita olim (vt cætera taceam) eum tu nobis, cum prohibere poteras, dedisti Præſidē, quo diutius carere non potuimus, virum, qui cum gratia nihil faciat, omnia tamen quę facit ſunt gratiſſima; effeciſti plane vt gratia cum Muſis æternum fœdus & ſocietatem inijsſe videatur. Vt iam certo ſuperemus quod olim erat in votis, aut gaudeamus potius quod ſemper expectauimus, fore te celeriori virtutis, quam ætatis curſu, Patri, potentiſſimo, erudiſſimo, ſapientiſſimo Monarchæ,* ſimilem, hoc eſt, optimū Principem, vtpote qui iampridem ſcribenda feceris, & iam protinus legenda ſcripſeris. Neque enim permittes vt bonæ artes, quę tuæ iam maximæ curæ ſunt & occupationes, negligentiuiculæ in poſterum habeantur. . . . Cum igitur ad te redeat literarum gloria, ad nos fructus; vſum fructumque, ſi quid lucubrationes noſtræ in lucem eruere poterint, æquum putamus in rationes tuas referre: idque ſtudemus ne aliquando tanti nominis dignatione indigni videamur.⁸¹

George Hakewell, who became chaplain to Prince Charles, preſented his Latin treatiſe againſt regicides, *Scutum regium*:

*In cuius vnus vultu, tuorum omnium Prædeceſſorum virtutes ſingulas, Collectim vnitas videre videor. Quare, nec prorsus diffido, te huic Scuto meo, Scutum futurum, præſertim cum in eo proteſtendo, ſalutem tuam, tuorumque protegas, eoque confido magis, quod me non ita pridem in Ædibus tuis Woodſtochianis, de hoc ipſo ſubiecto inter concionandum, nonnulla ingerentem, gratioſe & patienter adiueris. Faxit Æternum numen, vt ſpei de te conceptæ, & votis publicis, res ipſa reſpondeat, quod euenturum facile ſperem, ſi illud in oculo, in aure, in animo ſemper geras.*⁸²

⁸¹ Sigs. A3–A4.

⁸² Sigs. A4–A4^v. Dominic Baudius, profeſſor of eloquence and hiſtory at Leyden, had been well received by James and Henry when he voyaged to England in 1607 and preſented his poems to the king.

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Joseph Hall, who had become chaplain to Henry in 1608 and who had dedicated his *Epistles* to him in that year, now offered his *Contemplations vpon the principall passages of the holy storie*. A blanket dedication to Henry justifies the giving of the four individual books to other patrons as follows:

*It is no maruell if Bookes haue this freedome, when wee our selues can and ought to be all yours, while wee are our owne, and others vnder you.*⁸³

In 1612 appeared *Epigrammatum Ioannis Owen . . . libri tres. Ad Henricum principem Cambriæ duo. Ad Carolum Eboracensem unus. Editio prima*. There is no dedicatory epistle as such, but several epigrams are addressed to Henry.⁸⁴ Drayton prefaces his great patriotic poem, *Poly-Olbion*:

This first part of my intended Poeme I consecrate to your Highnes: in whom (beside my particular zeale) there is a naturall interest in my Worke; as the hopefull Heyre of the kingdoms of this Great Britaine: whose Delicacies, Chorographically Description, and Historie, be my subject. . . . The influence of so glorious and fortunate a Starre, may also reflect upon me: which

He now sent to Henry an edition of his *Gnomæ iambicæ* with a laudatory letter in Latin, dated at Leyden, June 11, 1612 (printed in Birch, pp. 520–521). Birch (p. 302) notes that in 1612 William Trumball, an agent at the court of Brussels, sent Henry a certain book on policy and government as a present.

⁸³ Sig. ¶3^v. *Epistles, the third and last volume* had been presented (sigs. A2–A3) to Henry in 1611.

⁸⁴ Sigs. ¹A3, ¹A3^v, ¹A4, ¹A8^v, ¹B3, and ¹B12^v. Three other title pages in the volume present succeeding books to other notables and in those books are additional epigrams to Henry; see sigs. ²A2, ³D2^v (quoted above, p. 59), and ⁴E9^v.

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hath power to give me new life, or leave me to die more willingly and contented.⁸⁵

Opposite a fine engraving of Henry, armored and with lance in hand, are the following verses:

Britaine, behold here portray'd, to thy sight,
Henry, thy best hope, and the world's delight;
Ordain'd to make thy eight Great Henries, nine:
Who, by that vertue in the trebble Trine,
To his owne goodnesse (in his Being) brings
These severall Glories of th' eight English Kings;
Deep Knowledge, Greatnes, long Life, Policy,
Courage, Zeale, Fortune, awfull Majestie.
He like great Neptune on three Seas shall rove,
And rule three Realms, with triple power like Jove;
Thus in soft Peace, thus in tempestuous Warres,
Till from his foote, his Fame shall strike the starres.⁸⁶

Henry Peacham, the younger, presented his collection of emblems illustrated in English verse, *Minerva Britanna or a garden of heroical deuises*, declaring that he has

by more then ordinarie signes, tasted heeretofore of your gracious favour: and evidently knowen your *Princely* and *Generous* inclination, to all good Learning and excellencie.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *Works*, IV (1933), iii*.

⁸⁶ IV, iv*. The abstract nouns are glossed: "The severall happinesses of the eight *Henries*." Among the "Anuyties and Pencons" which appear in the records of Henry's household for 1610-1612 is the following entry: "Mr Drayton a poett for one yeare . . . x [pounds]" (*Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. xvii).

⁸⁷ Sig. A2.

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Two years before, Peacham had given to Henry some of the emblems, "done by me into Latine verse, with their pictures drawn and limned by mine owne hand." Latin verses now re-present the book to Henry.⁸⁸ They hail him as Arthur returned to usher in a new age of peace and useful arts. Verses set beneath a warrior in full armor charging on a steed look to Henry for deeds that will match Alexander's.⁸⁹ When the author addresses his muse in the second part of the book, Henry is

both Load-stone, and the starre,
Of Heartes and Eies, our wished Loue and Light.⁹⁰

Later Peacham allegorizes a bird flying to build her nest in a crown that rests on roses:

Thus vnder that sweete shadow of your winges,
Best loues the Artes, and Innocence to build:
And thus my Muse, that never saf'tie knew,
With weary wing, great *HENRIE* flies to you.⁹¹

Some dedications that cannot be exactly dated may be glanced at now. About 1611 Peacham presented *Basilicon doron in emblemata versum*.⁹² In four six-line stanzas to

⁸⁸ Sigs. A₄-B₁.

⁸⁹ Sig. D₄^v.

⁹⁰ Sig. P₄.

⁹¹ Sig. S₄.

⁹² British Museum MS. Royal 12 A. LXVI. MS. Royal 16 E. XXXVIII, fol. 1, has an elaborate but very poor portrait of Henry in armor, signed by Peacham. MS. Royal 17 C. XXXI is *Dauids delights or a president for a prince*, addressed to Henry as a new year's gift some time after 1604. MS. Royal 12 A. XXVIII contains Latin and Greek verses by Winchester boys addressed to Henry between 1610 and 1612. MS. Royal 12 F. XI is *De mundo nostro sublimari*

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compliment a "minde . . . celestially dispos'd," William Basse offered to Henry one of his early works, *Vrania the woman in the moone in foure cantoes or quarters*. In later verses dedicating the poem to Lady Penelope Dynham, Basse looked back on Henry as

such a one
As in his tyme, and at his youthfull yeares,
In greatnes match'd with goodnes was alone.⁹³

The chief philosophical poet of the day, Sir John Davies, dedicated the first edition of his *Orchestra or a poeme on dauncing* (1596) to "his very Friend, Ma. Rich: Martin"; but the edition of 1622 carried an after-dedication inscribed "To the Prince." Henry seems to be figured in the second quatrain below:

Sir, whatsoeuer yov are pleas'd to doo
It is your special praise, that you are bent,
And sadly set your princely mind thereto:
Which makes yov in each thing so excellent.

Hence is it that yov came so soone to bee
A man-at-armes in euery point aright;
The fairest flowre of noble chivalrie;
And of Saint *George* his band, the brauest knight.

And hence it is, that all your youthfull traine
In actiueness and grace, yov doe excell;

philosophia noua, dedicated by its author, William Gilbert, some time before his death in 1603. And MS. Royal 12 E. XXIV, *De vnionis firmitate* by Joshua Mene (between 1610 and 1612), is dedicated to Henry in a notable Latin epistle (fols. 7^v-11).

⁹³ *The Poetical Works of William Basse*, ed. R. W. Bond, 1893, pp. 267-270.

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When yov doe courtly dauncings entertaine
Then Dauncing's praise may be presented well

To yov, whose action adds more praise thereto,
Then all the *Muses* with their penns can doo.⁹⁴

Bacon wrote a dedicatory letter to the 1612 edition of his famous *Essays* in which he spoke of Henry with marked regard, if not in the affectionate tone Ben Jonson used in dedicating *The Masque of Queens*.⁹⁵ John Lewis offered *The history of Great-Britain, from the first inhabitants thereof, 'till the death of Cadwalader*.⁹⁶

Early 1612 found the recipient of these many and various dedications absorbed by plays and martial sports—tilts, tourneys, and barriers. On January 6 the gentlemen of the court presented the prince's mask, Ben Jonson's *Love Restored*. Henry was "every day five or sixe howres in armor. The rest

⁹⁴ *The Complete Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 1876, I, 160. Grosart thinks that Henry, not Charles, is "most probably" meant. Veneration for the memory of Henry would have led Sir John to let the dedication stand in 1622.

⁹⁵ The dedication (*Works*, XI [1868], 340-341), which survives in British Museum MS. Additional 4259, was intended for the edition entered at the Stationers' Register, October 12, 1612, a few weeks before Henry's death.

⁹⁶ Sigs. *a[1]—*a2^v. The work was "first published from his ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT" in London, 1729. Birch (pp. 146-148) tells that a Dr. Marsam, a Frenchman of Protestant faith, dedicated to Henry a book (printed in Paris) that denied the primacy of the Roman church. In 1608 Sir George Carew, the ambassador in France, sent Henry a copy with a commendatory letter. Hugh Holland planned to dedicate the second book of his *Pancharis* to Henry; see the "Sonet Acrosticke" addressed to him in the 1603 edition of *Pancharis: the first booke* (sig. A4).

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of the time was spent in gaming and every night a play." On Shrove Tuesday when he visited the Marquis of Winchester he and his companions "ran a match at the ring for a supper against the Duke of Lennox" and others. They won, and the "supper and playes were made at the marques of Winchesters house the Friday after." On April 6 Foscarini reports that the prince recently had run a match "with marvellous grace," probably in celebration of King's Day, March 24.⁹⁷

Courtly sports did not eclipse Henry's interest in ships and seamen. About the middle of January as he lay off Greenwich he summoned all the king's master shipwrights to discuss a proposition made by William Burrell for building ships in Ireland, and to submit designs that he might choose those he thought most fit for the service.⁹⁸ Burrell was awarded the contract, and Pett was appointed to go to Ireland to check on his performance of it. When ten English pirates then in Ireland sought a pardon for themselves and all their like, and the council was resolved to grant it, Henry lent his support, for he wished to see the mariners of his land augmented by some three thousand buccaneers.⁹⁹ In Council he urged the building of ships and the reform of the navy. He was alert, too, to the importance of discovering a north-west passage to the East. For a voyage after it, he chose Captain Thomas Button, an able seaman already in his service, and directed Pett to help with the choice of a suitable ship. Button set sail in April with two vessels, the *Resolution*, commanded by himself, and the *Discovery*, both supplied for eighteen months. The *Resolution* was lost and Button

⁹⁷ Based on Chambers, IV, 125; Chamberlain, I, 330, 339-340; and *State Papers, Venetian*, XII, 328.

⁹⁸ Pett, p. 95. See Birch, pp. 257-268.

⁹⁹ *State Papers, Venetian*, XII, p. 283.

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with his *Discovery* did not return until after his patron's death; but he made observations that persuaded him that the passage might be found. Henry was formally constituted supreme protector of the enterprise when in July a grant of incorporation was given the company of discoverers of the northwest passage.¹⁰⁰

Henry was importantly associated with the Virginia Company. Thomas Dale, a veteran in the Dutch military service when Henry was in his cradle, had been sent by the States General to join his retinue when the prince was a ward at Stirling Castle. He served in that capacity nearly eight years, then returned to military duties in Holland. Henry followed his career with quick interest and made recommendations for his advancement in the army there. At the creation in 1610 Henry got from the Dutch ambassadors a promise to return his trusty servant for service in Virginia. Then he recommended to the English ambassador in Holland that Sir Thomas (knighted in 1606) be granted a leave of absence to go to Virginia. In March, 1611, Dale as "high marshall," but virtually with the power of governor, sailed from Land's End, and arrived in Jamestown, May 29. In August, Dale spoke of a town's having been given the "Title and Name, which it hath pleased the Lords allreadie to appoint for it," Henrico; and in the middle of January, 1612, he reported that the settlement (also called Henricus or Henricopolis) had been made "much better and of more worth than all the work ever since the Colony began, therein done." He sent Henry a little present of a "falcon and a tassall." Cape Henry had been named for the prince the first year of the permanent settlement by the English; so, too, one of the forts built on Hampton River in 1610. The company even planned a

¹⁰⁰ Birch, p. 264; *State Papers, Domestic, James I*, II, 139.

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university to bear Henry's name: Harvard had a predecessor—in dreams. Company minutes tell of "ten thousand acres of land for the *University to be planted at Henrico* and one thousand acres for the *College for the conversion of Infidels*." But Henrico and its project were lost when, after Henry's death and Dale's return to England in 1616, a great massacre by the Indians in 1622 destroyed one-third of the colonists, and the charter of the company was revoked in 1624. Henry was rightly known as the protector and patron of the colony, for his "royall heart was euer strongly affected to that action."¹⁰¹

About the middle of June Henry ordered faithful Pett to make ready a small new ship to serve as a pinnace to the great *Prince*. The cabin was to be roomy, for he planned to "solace himself sometimes into the Narrow Seas." On August 1, the eve of his leaving Richmond for a progress, Henry had a "great deal of private conference" with Pett "concerning affairs of consequence." He commended his servant: "Go on cheerfully . . . in that which I entrust you with, and let not the care for your posterity incumber you any ways, for you shall leave the care both of yourself and them to me, who have a purpose carefully to provide for you." When Pett said farewell to his master he "could not choose but shed some tears, though I little thought (as God knoweth) that had been the last time I should have seen him alive, and those the last words that ever he spake unto me."¹⁰²

Keeping pace with Henry's interest in ships and coloniza-

¹⁰¹ Ralphe Hamor, *A true discovrse of the present estate of Virginia*, 1615, sig. E3. See Robert Hunt Land, *Henrico and Its College*, reprinted from *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XVIII (1938), 453-498.

¹⁰² Pett, pp. 96-98.

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tion was his love of military exercises and his thirst for knowledge of the theory of war. He practiced tilting and charging on horseback with pistols. He conferred with all sorts of men experienced in war by land and sea. From military models on a long table he studied the right ordering of battles. He housed a Dutch captain, an engineer expert in the tools of warfare, sent him by Count Maurice. He had new guns made and learned to shoot and level them right at the mark. He imported excellent horses—no prince surpassed him.¹⁰³

Henry was now arresting in looks and manners. His body was strong and erect, about five feet and eight inches tall, his hair auburn above a broad forehead, his shoulders somewhat broad, his waist small, and his carriage, so Bacon assures us, regally graceful. His face was "long and somewhat lean, his habit rather full, his countenance composed, and the motion of his eyes rather sedate than powerful. His forehead bore marks of severity, his mouth had a touch of pride." And yet one penetrating "beyond those outworks" and soothing him "with due attention and seasonable discourse, . . . found him gentle and easy to deal with; so that he seemed quite another man in conversation than his aspect promised."¹⁰⁴ Cornwallis, less detached than Bacon, writes of Henry's "piercing grave eye," "most gracious smile," and "terrible frowne." He assures us that his master was "courteous, loving, and affable," slow to anger, careful in judgment, courageous in action, and, though of a "close disposition, not easie to be known, or pried into," yet "very pittifull and tender-hearted unto any in misery, whom upon Peti-

¹⁰³ Cornwallis, *The life and death*, sigs. B4^v–B5.

¹⁰⁴ *Works*, VI, 327.

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tion, he ever some way releevd.”¹⁰⁵ His speech was so slow as to suggest an impediment; he would “oftimes say of himselfe that he had the most unserviceable tongue of any man living.”¹⁰⁶ But he spoke so to the point when asking questions and expressing opinions that he suggested forethought rather than dullness. And he was a patient listener who gave acute attention even in affairs of great length.¹⁰⁷

Rivals for the hand of the princess Elizabeth had been numerous, but in the spring of 1612 Frederick, Elector Palatine, emerged as the successful suitor. Henry enthusiastically joined with James in favoring this virtuous young Calvinist prince who, born just a few days before Elizabeth, was two years younger than he. The Huguenot Duke of Bouillon, attended by Frederick’s representative, arrived in London; and on May 16, 1612, the articles for the wedding of his nephew to Henry’s much loved sister were drawn up. Then in July came Frederick’s steward of the palace, Count Schömberg, with letters from his eager master for both Elizabeth and her favorite brother. The court had a laugh when by mistake the count presented to the prince the elector’s billet-

¹⁰⁵ *The life and death*, sigs. G1–G1^v. On February 4, 1609, Sir David Murray asked Salisbury to pay Palmer, the prince’s embroiderer, four hundred pounds for a saddle “bestowed a year and a half ago by the King on the Prince, who has ordered it to remain in his wardrobe till the poor man is paid” (*State Papers, Domestic, James I*, I, 490). A payment of £13 6s. 8d. is notable: “To Thomas Wilson the princes Shoemaker dwelling in the Strande, for keeping a poor boy taken up and found at Woodstock, and by his highnes comaundement committed to the same Wilson his keepinge, and that he shall take him for an apprentice” (*Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. xiv).

¹⁰⁶ *A discourse*, sig. E2^v.

¹⁰⁷ Bacon, VI, 328–329.

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doux, and to the princess a letter greeting her as a future brother-in-arms.

The match for Elizabeth all arranged, the royal family now looked toward a summer progress. Henry withdrew for a time to Richmond. Some who saw him swimming in the river there every evening immediately after dinner feared for his health; but Henry persisted in his swims. Late in the cool damp evenings he often walked by the river's side in the moonlight to hear the echo of trumpets. When the time came for joining his father at Beaver Castle in Nottinghamshire, he resolved to make the journey in two days, regardless of the ninety-six miles and the extreme heat of the season. And notwithstanding the efforts of Sir Charles Cornwallis to dissuade him, he posted three score miles in nine hours, tarried overnight at Finchingbrooke beside Huntingdon, and the next day covered thirty-six miles to meet the king on schedule.¹⁰⁸

Henry had already made plans to feast the court at Woodstock toward the end of its progress upon their first gathering there since the Woodstock place had become his. He had ordered a great summer house of green boughs to be built in the park for the feasting. Meanwhile, although the summer season was uncommonly hot, he amused himself by taking many long rides and arranging for the festivities ahead. Sir Charles has told of them:

At last, their journeis being towards an end, to *Woodstock* they came, where his Highnesse (accordingly to his former intention) did feast the Lords and Ladies at a long table, neere which hee himselfe did beare them company from the Wednesday night of their comming, untill the Sunday night, which (un-

¹⁰⁸ Cornwallis, *The life and death*, sigs. B6^v-B7^v.

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knowne to him) hee had appointed for the last great farewell unto all his friends; By this time the appointed night for this great feast being come, his Highnesse did himselfe in person come into the banqueting house, to see all things in good order, for great was his care to give contentment.

At last, the King and Queene being set at a Table by themselves at the upper end of the roome, his Highnesse with his Sister accompanied with the Lords and Ladies sitting at another Table of thirty yards long and more, by themselves, there was to bee seene one of the greatest and best ordered feasts as ever was seene, nothing wanting which any way was fitting to adorn such a solemne meeting; All which to the generall joy of the whole Court; his Highnesse like to a Princely Bridgrome cheering and welcomming his Guests, there appeared an universall contentment in all; but litle knew he that it was his last great farewell to his Father, Mother, Sister, yea, unto the whole Court, that it was his last Feast of Feasts, one for all. And indeed, when we looke backe unto the same, therein beholding his Highnesse cheerefull carriage, the Time, Order, State, Magnificence, and Greatnes thereof, we may behold somewhat Ominous therein.¹⁰⁹

Henry left Woodstock for Richmond as soon as the court departed, for he had planned to be at home when Frederick arrived and "to grace [him] with all possible honour."¹¹⁰ After he had ordered pensions for a number of his devoted followers, he made arrangements for triumphs and festivities to compliment the approaching bridegroom.

Amid all the bustle about Elizabeth's marriage and talk of his own, death's hand, ironically enough, was upon Henry. For days he had been growing pale and thin. Perhaps the

¹⁰⁹ Sigs. B7^v-B8^v.

¹¹⁰ Sig. B8^v.

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strenuous activity during a hot summer had exhausted him. Certainly by the beginning of October weakness and headaches were increasing, try though he might to deny them. Once he had risen early in the mornings to walk in the fields; now he lay abed until nine, complaining of a weariness for which he knew not the cause. Often before rising he asked the grooms of the bedchamber, "How do I looke this morning?" They sought to jest away his worry.

On October 10 chills and fever kept him to his chamber. But shortly he insisted that he felt better, and, against the wishes of his household, moved to St. James's to await the elector's coming. His associates were fearful before his pale, thin face, but Henry did not complain and ordered his physician, Dr. Hammond, to return home. His followers found him irritable and indifferent to everything except plans for his sister's marriage and the company of Frederick. The latter had landed at Gravesend on October 16 with a great train and upon being received at the banqueting house at Whitehall, at once found favor with the whole court. The bridegroom "plie[d] his mistresse hard and [took] no delight in running at ring, nor tennis, nor riding with the Prince, (as Count Henry his uncle and other of his companie [did]), but only in her conversation."¹¹¹ Henry, however, on the twenty-fourth indulged in a strenuous tennis match with Count Maurice, of whom he had become very fond and with whom he often played at cards and tennis. As "though his body had been of brasse" and "as if it had been in the heate of Summer," Henry played in his shirt. That night he complained more than usual of languor and a headache. The next morning he rose readily to hear a favorite minister, Robert

¹¹¹ Chamberlain, I, 381.

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Wilkinson, one of the king's chaplains, preach on a melancholy text, Job 14: 1. He dined with his father and Frederick, but by three that afternoon he was so ill that he was forced to return home by a fever and a thirst that never left him, and with eyes so dim that they could not endure the candle-light during the restless nights ahead.

Yet next morning Henry got up, dressed, and played at cards with his brother and Count Henry. The next day he seemed a little better. Dr. Nasmith and Dr. Mayerne attended and considered bleeding. Chills and fever again forced him to bed. He and the elector had promised to attend the lord mayor's feast on the twenty-ninth, and great preparations had been made for them; but this day his fever rose and held him abed. Hopes for him fell. On the thirty-first he was delirious; so the three desperate doctors agreed to bleeding for the next day. After that operation he found some false ease; but he was still so sick that in the afternoon "both king, Quene and the Lady Elizabeth went severally to visit him, and revelling and playes appointed for that night were put of."¹¹² The next day he was worse, though uncomplaining. Night brought rambling talk in which he cried for his clothes and his rapier and sought to get out of bed. On the next day he was still delirious and his fever rose that night. Now his hair was shaved off, and split pigeons and cupping glasses were applied in a pathetic effort to ease him. Cornwallis assures us that he "endured [all] with wonderfull and admirable patience." He sang in his sleep, plucked at the bedclothes, pulled the quilt toward him, got up, and became convulsive at night. On the next day, November 4, he grew worse. A cloven cock applied to his feet aided not at all. In the after-

¹¹² Page 384.

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noon the king visited his son, but he was persuaded not to come thereafter and merely increase his grief. When the Archbishop of Canterbury came and asked about prayers, omitted in the rush of doctoring, Henry declared that he had not failed to pray quietly by himself, and assented to prayers in his chamber.

On November 5 stricken attendants stood hopelessly by. Henry cried out for "David"—Sir David Murray—"the onely man in whom hee had put choise trust." Night brought greater delirium and violent convulsions. He sought to speak intelligibly to Dr. Nasmith, the king's surgeon, but, aware of his failure, gave "a most grievous sigh, [and] as it were in angre turned him from him; thereafter (unless hee were urged) never speaking unto him, or any." Sir David came to him in this extremity, and Henry was able to charge him with the burning of a number of letters in a certain cabinet in the royal closet. Cordials had been tried; now one arrived from the dying youth's devoted friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, prisoner in the Tower. As a last desperate remedy it was given him after having been tasted and proved. In vain—"save that forcing that sparke of life that remained, it brought him againe into a sweat; after which, as before hee had some rest for a little while." For the archbishop, he lifted up his hands and his eyes as a sign that his trust was in Christ. Then the archbishop in tears prayed a "most exceeding powerfull passionate prayer." Prayers continued in the house from three in the morning until night, as life ebbed out of Henry. The delirium and the convulsions subsided, his pulse sank, and he "quietly, gently, and patiently, halfe a quarter, or thereabouts, before eight a clocke at night, yeelded up his Spirit unto his Immortall Maker, Saviour, and Restorer, being attended unto Heaven, with as many Prayers, Teares and

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strong Cries, as ever Soule was, on Fryday the sixth of *November*, 1612.”¹¹³

¹¹³ My account of Henry's illness and death is based chiefly on that by the treasurer of his household, Sir Charles Cornwallis, in *The life and death*, sigs. C1-E8, supplemented by Norman Moore, *The Illness and Death of Henry Prince of Wales in 1612*, 1882. Moore worked primarily from the detailed case history left by Sir Theodore Mayerne. In *The true account of the illness, death, and opening of the body of the most high and most illustrious Henry, prince of Wales, deceased, at St. James's in London, the 6th of November, 1612* (*Opera Medica*, ed. J. Browne, 1701) Sir Theodore wrote as “the exact describer” of what Moore diagnosed as “the earliest case of typhoid fever on record in England.”

PART III

ELEGIAC

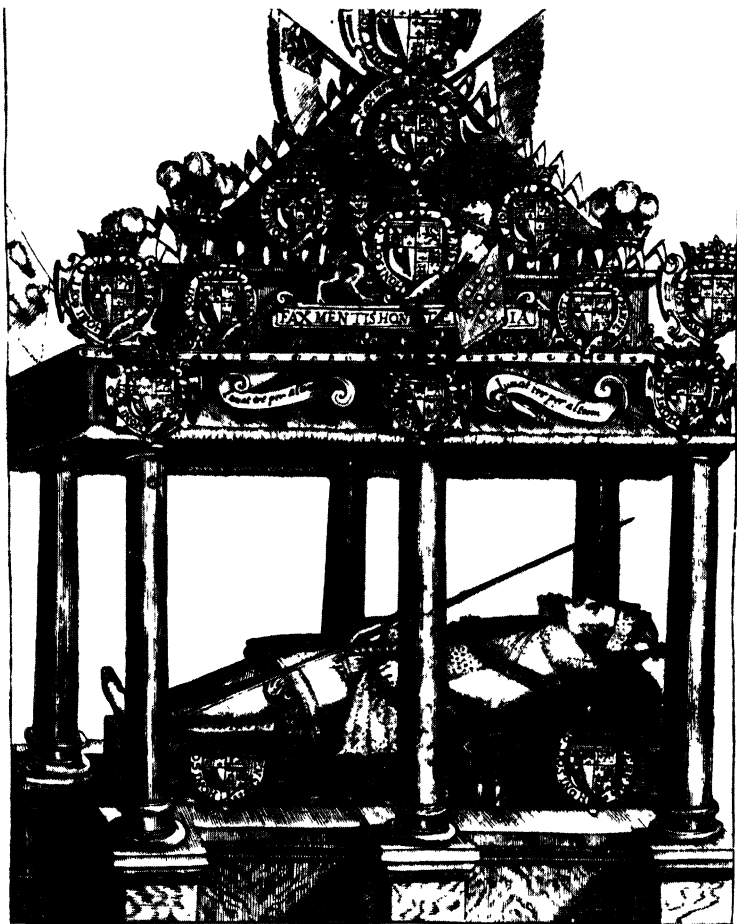
(1612 —)

THE SWIFT death of its beloved prince plunged the land into the deepest gloom. When James had seen there was no hope for his son, he had withdrawn to Theobalds; Anne had retired the same day to Somerset House. Soon the Venetian ambassador was reporting that the queen's life had been endangered by her grief; she stirred not from her room, saw no one, and wept incessantly.¹ Elizabeth had gone two days without food and would not cease from weeping. She had longed to visit her brother during his last days and "went once or twice in the evening disguised for that purpose, but could not be admitted, because his disease was doubted to be contagious."² "She had paid a pound to a coachman and two footmen belonging to the household of her little brother, for escorting her on her secret errands."³ During his sickness Henry had "inquired still after her, and the last wordes he spake in good sense, (they say) were,

¹ *State Papers, Venetian*, XII, 449.

² *Chamberlain*, I, 390.

³ *Oman*, p. 66.



*Cruelis crudagis Eatri pater ang ruina
Raptus, ut atque in preteritis aus*

*HENRICUS modica (Sanctum Caput) dicitur
... Magnus Ille, suo in genitore maior*

Hugo Floumaus finat

Whome all the vast'st frame of thisical Earth

Shrunk under, nor sawe the light had borneth

His father'st in fact, in Hopeful Birth

*His Youth, in good life Deu Spent his Death
Jo Chapman*

An engraving of the hearse and effigy of Prince Henry in Henry Holland's *Heroologia Anglica hoc est clarissimorum et doctissimorum aliquot [sic] Anglorum . . . vivae effigies* [1620]

Sig E2 From a copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery

ELEGIAC

'Where is my deare sister?' " ⁴ Charles, too, was sorrowful beyond his years. Frederick knew not what to do; he was "quite upset at finding himself here at such an unpropitious and lamentable juncture." ⁵ Faithful Pett had come to St. James's about four o'clock on November 6, as his master lay dying, to find "a house turned to the very map of true sorrow, every man with the character of grief written in his dejected countenance, all places flowing with tears and bitter lamentations." ⁶ Soon the whole land was as sorrowful as St. James's.

The day after the death the Council commanded an autopsy by the doctors who had attended Henry,⁷ after which the body was embalmed and enclosed in lead. All the chambers were hung with black. In the bedchamber was set up a canopy of black velvet, valanced and fringed. Beneath the canopy, upon trestles, the coffin was placed, covered with a great pall of black velvet that carried Henry's escutcheons of arms. Upon the head of the coffin was laid a cushion of black velvet, and Henry's cap and coronet, his state robes, his

⁴ Chamberlain, I, 390.

⁵ *State Papers, Venetian*, XII, 449.

⁶ *Autobiography*, p. 100.

⁷ Henry's quick death led to reports that he had been poisoned. Gossip-mongers even struck at James and his favorite, Robert Carr. Welwood in his notes on Arthur Wilson's *The Life and Reign of James, the First* (*Complete History of England*, II, 714) tells the following tale, but without authority for it: Raleigh's cordial was requested by Anne, who had recovered from a fever after having herself taken a dose of it. When Raleigh sent his medicine to the dying prince his letter to the queen expressed his affectionate concern for the prince and declared that the potion would certainly cure any fever unless poisoning was causing it. After Henry's death, Anne, recalling Raleigh's declaration, was convinced that her son had been poisoned.

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sword, and his rod of gold were set upon it. His ninety gentlemen servants, ten at a time, watched beside the body day and night as the funeral approached. Prayers were read in the presence chamber or in the privy chamber every morning and evening.

On December 3 the coffin was moved into the privy chamber; the next day, into the presence chamber; and the next day, after Henry's crown and cap of state had been set upon a cushion at the head of the coffin, into the great chamber. While the gentlemen of the king's chapel sang dirges, it was carried by way of the court into the chapel choir to abide there until December 7 beneath a great canopy set with royal escutcheons and arms. On the next day, Sunday, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry read the service, and the gentlemen of the king's chapel, with the children belonging to it, chanted anthems with the organs. Dr. Price, one of Henry's chaplains, preached from II Samuel 3:31, "Rent your clothes; put on sackcloth, and mourn before Abner." That evening an effigy of the prince, very like him and decked in his creation robes of purple velvet and ermine, together with collar and Garter and golden staff, was laid on its back upon the coffin and fast bound to it, the head supported by two cushions.

At last on Monday, December 7, after four hours in assembling, the funeral procession began to move about ten in the morning. It stretched all the way to the Abbey. Two thousand mourners all in black—of whom Prince Charles, accompanied by Frederick, was chief—attended the funeral chariot, covered in black velvet, drawn by eight black horses with tossing black plumes, and bearing Henry's escutcheons and plumes. In the chariot and at his dead master's feet sat Sir David Murray, master of the wardrobe and Henry's closest counselor. Upon the arrival at Westminster Abbey

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and after the solemn music was ended, the coffin was set upon a stately hearse, built in quadrangular form with eight pillars. It was covered with the escutcheons of the arms of Henry's domains, his motto, *Fax mentis honestæ gloria*, and that of his funeral hearse, *Juvat ire per altum*. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury preached the funeral sermon to a hushed assembly. After lauding the prince's piety and his wise government of his household, he "concluded with a proper exhortation to all, and with many tears." When the sermon was over, all the members of Henry's dissolving household broke their staves and rods over the coffin. The coffin with the effigy remained under the hearse until December 19, when it was placed in a chamber of the chapel in Westminster Abbey.⁸

Preachers continued to grieve for Henry. His chaplain Daniel Price sought consolation: "But our *Iosias* was taken away in a seasonable, comfortable visitation, when he was full of *beautie*, full of *glory*, full of *pietie*, full of *Religion*, full of *admiration*, full of *lamentation*." ⁹ Dedicating *David his oath of allegiance to Iervusalem* (Oxford, 1613) to Charles, Price grieved for Henry.¹⁰ Notable, too, is the same divine's *Spiritvall odovrs to the memory of Prince Henry. In fovre of the last sermons preached in St. Iames after his highnesse death* (Oxford, 1613); and *Prince Henry his first anniversary* (Oxford, 1613), which was followed at Oxford the next year by *Prince Henry his second anniversary*, dedi-

⁸ Based on Cornwallis, *The life and death*, sigs. E8-G1, and Birch, pp. 360-365.

⁹ *Lamentations for the death of the late illustrious Prince Henry. And the dissolution of his religious familie. Two sermons: preached in his highnesse chappell at Saint Iames, on the 10. and 15. of Nouember, . . . after his decease*, 1613, sig. B4.

¹⁰ Sig. *2^v.

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cated to Charles as "my vowed *Annuall* service to the *memory* of your blessed *Brother*." ¹¹ Joseph Hall grieved in *A fare well sermon, preacht to the familie of Prince Henry, upon the day of their dissolution at S. Iames*; ¹² John Day, in *Day's dyall or . . . twelve severall lectures . . . delivered . . . in the chappel of Oriell colledge in Oxford, . . . 1612, and 1613* (Oxford, 1614).¹³ In *Londons warning by Laodicea's luke-warmnesse* (1613) Sampson Price cried:

What could haue taken away that sweet *Prince*, of fresh and bleeding *memôry*, Prince HENRY, the expectation of all the Christian world, but our *luke-warmnesse*? . . . It was the *defence* of Religion, that made *Dauid, Salomon, Iosias, Constantine, Edward the 6. Queene Elizabeth*, and our late blessed *Henry* so honoured, that their names amongst all true hearted *Protestants*, are like a precious oyntment, their remembrance is sweet as hony, and as Musicke at a banquet of wine.¹⁴

Elegies poured from the press, and laments for Henry echoed in various books for many years. John Philip Edmond, who about 1901 compiled an expert bibliography of the elegies printed in 1612-1614,¹⁵ listed forty-four principal items—twelve more than John Nichols had listed a hundred years earlier.¹⁶ I have discovered a few more scattered pieces.

¹¹ Sig. *2.

¹² *Works*, 1625, sig. Rr4.

¹³ Sig. A2.

¹⁴ Sigs. F3, H2.

¹⁵ "Elegies and Other Tracts Issued on the Death of Henry, Prince of Wales, 1612," in *Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, VI (1906), 141-158.

¹⁶ *Progresses*, II, 504-512.

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Several of the volumes are of unusual typographical interest. Pages are printed in solid black, or a white square is left to carry the feathers of the Prince of Wales. Sometimes the letters are the only white objects on the title page; sometimes human skeletons surround a page and black borders more than an inch wide appear. Twenty elegies are in English by seventeen various authors; four volumes are Latin verse; four others are Oxford and Cambridge anthologies in several languages by dozens of university men; two volumes are funeral sermons; and five items are ballads known only from the entries in the Stationers' Register. Edmond found the volumes "as literature . . . almost unreadable." They are repetitious and conventional in theme and style, but notably various in structure.

A cross section of their lugubrious verses will epitomize the character of Henry as it has already appeared in the literature of his lifetime. James Maxwell lists all the numerous virtues that the elegists rehearse: "piety and feare of God," "admirable and laudable abstinence from swearing, cursing & banning"; "knowledge in Diuinity, and both learned & modest discourse"; "knowledge of humane Scienecs [*sic*] and Arts"; "loyall obedience to Father & mother, and his auersenes frō *Absolomes* aspiring minde"; "loue & affection toward his Brother & Sister"; "respect towards the Peers, Prelates and all Preachers"; "magnificēce towards forraine Princes and Potentates"; "gratitude & bounty towards his household seruants"; "great trayne and attendance with his discretion in making choyce of worthy seruants to be nearest himselfe"; "thrift in building, planting and repairing"; "liberality towards Schollers"; "bountie towards Captaines & Soldiers"; "warrelike exercises"; "temperance & sobriety"; and "continence & chastitie." The hope of "true religion,"

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Henry is also the "Soldiers solace, and the Schollars ioy."¹⁷ Many elegists idealize variously these themes and at moments give glimpses of the actual prince; but Joshua Sylvester strikes the dominant elegiac notes when he declares that all who love "*Religion, Armes, or Art*" grieve for Henry.¹⁸

Lovers of religion and arms may first be heard. Robert Allyn, lamenting Henry's not having lived to lead forces on the Continent to overthrow Rome, inveighs against death for slaying Henry:

Hadst thou but seene how braue he rulde his stead.
With what a whirle-wind hee did shake his speare,
With what a Princely grace hee bare his head,
What Majestie did in his lookes appeare,
The least of those, if thou hadst eyes to see,
Had throwne the forceles dart from trembling thee.

.
Go dull the eares of Antichristian Rome,
With sweeter musicke then the earth can yeild;

.
Tell thou hast brought to his vntimely toombe,
One who in time had com'de t'haue worne the crowne
Of *Brittaine*, and throwne downe the walles of Rome,
And layde them leuell with the lowest ground.¹⁹

¹⁷ *The laudable life, and deplorable death, of our late peerlesse Prince Henry*, 1612, sig. C3.

¹⁸ *Lachrymæ lachrymarum, or the spirit of teares, distilled for the vntymely death of the incomparable prince, Panaretus*, 3d ed., 1613, sig. A3.

¹⁹ *Funerall elegies vpon the most lamentable and vntimely death of the thrice illustrious Prince Henry*, 1613, sigs. A3^v-A4.

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Others catch up these themes:

He vs'd his eares to trumpet, fife and drumme.
And like as when the vigill of the night,

.
Proclaimes the Day; and then the god of Light
(Rous'd from his couch) doth mount his firie horse:
So our Fame's sonne, with no lesse wishèd sight
(After his war-like summons) he would force
Rest from his bed, and at those wish't alar'ms
Mount his hot steede, shining in glorious armes.

.
Bellona was his goddess, whom he sought
With knightly valour, more then courtly grace:

.
Armes had his hart when love had scarce his heele.

Not canopies, but tents tooke his desire,
Not Courts, but camps; nor could the courtliest dames
(Though they shot eye-bals wrapt in Cvpid's fire)
Pierce his steel'd brest.²⁰

His Launce appear'd to the beholders eyes,
When his faire hand aduanc't it to the skyes,
Larger then truth, for well could hee it wield,
And make it promise honour in the field.²¹

He, vpon whome the *Nations* Eyes were bent
·As on a most auspitious blazing-*Starre*

²⁰ Christopher Brooke, *A funerall elegie on the prince*, in *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, ed. A. B. Grosart, [Blackburn,] IV (1876), 182-183.

²¹ Thomas Campion, *Songs of mourning: bewailing the vntimely death of Prince Henry*, 1613, in *Works*, ed. Percival Vivian, Oxford, 1909, p. 104.

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Is now extinguish'd; yet, the light hee lent,
 Fore-shew'd he would haue thundred lowd, in War:
 For, in his *Eares* no *musick* sweet did sound,
 But *Trumpets*, *Drummes*, and *Phifes*: and, at his *meate*,
 (While they did others hearing but confound)
 They solac'd his; and made his *stomake* great!

.
 And, in all exercise of *Armes* he was
 Vnmatch'd by any of his yeares.²²

If Heauen (alas) ordain'd thee young to die,
Why was it not where thou thy Might did'st trie?
And to the hopefull World at least set forth
Some litle Sparke of thine expected Worth?
Mciliades, ô that by Isters Streames,
Amongst shrill-sounding Trumpets, flaming Gleames
Of warme encrimson'd Swords, and Cannons Roare,
Balls thicke as Raine pour'd by the Caspian Shore,
Amongst crush'd Lances, ringing Helmes, and Shields,
Dismembred Bodies rauishing the Fields,
In Turkish Blood made red like Marses Starre,
Thou ended hadst thy Life, and Christian Warre!

.
A Youth more braue, pale Troy with trembling Walles
Did neuer see, nor shee whose Name apalles
Both Titans golden Bowres, for bloody Fights
Mustring on Marses Field such Marse-like Knights.
The Heauens had brought thee to the highest Hight,
Of Wit, and Courage, shewing all their Might
When they thee fram'd: Ay mee! that what is braue
On Earth, they as their owne so soone should craue.

²² John Davies, *The muses-teares for the losse of their hope; heroick and ne're-too-much praised, Henry, prince of Wales*, 1613, sig. A2.

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*Mœliades sweet courtly Nymphes deplore,
From Thuly to Hydaspes pearlie Shore.*²³

Richard Niccols praises Henry's horsemanship and his grasp of military affairs: had Henry lived, he would have ridden to victory in great battles, driven Rome to the wall, and hunted "hence *Romes Rats*." He was

*R eligions stedfast friend, and Errors foe.*²⁴

George Wither in forty-six "Elegiak-sonnets" cries that

Mars himselfe enui'd his future glory,

and asks:

Alas, who now shall grace my turnaments:
Or honour me with deeds of Chivalry?
What shall become of all my merriments,
My Ceremonies, shoves of Heraldry
And other Rites? . . .

.
Me thought ere-while I saw Prince *Henries* Armes
Aduanc't about the Capitoll of *Rome*,
And his keene blade, in spight of steele or charmes,
Giue many mighty enemies their doome;
Yea I had many Hopes, but now I see
They are ordain'd to be anothers taske:

.
His very name with terror did annoy
His foraine foes so farre as he was knowne.
Hell droopt for feare, the turkie *Moone* look't pale,
Spaine trembled, and the most tempestuous sea

²³ William Drummond, *Teares, on the death of Mœliades*, 1613, in *Works*, I, 76-77.

²⁴ *The three sisters teares*, 1613, sigs. D1-D2, F2^v.

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(Where *Behemoth* the *Babylonish* Whale,
Keeps all his bloody and imperious plea)
Was swolne with rage, for feare he'd stop the tide,
Of her ore-daring and insulting pride.

For amongst diuers *Vertues* rare to finde,
Though many I obseru'd, I markt none more
Than in *Religion* his firme constant minde;
Which I set deepe vpon *Remembrance* score.
And that made *Romists* for his fortunes sorry.

Wither adds "A Supposed Inter-location betweene the Spirit of Prince *Henry and Great Britaine*" in which Britain is assured by the Spirit of Henry that "*Romes Locusts*" shall not be victorious:

Brit. Some land must yeeld a Prince that blow to strike,
May I be that same Land, or no, ist like? *Spi.* Like.
Brit. Then therefore 'tis that *Rome* beares vs such spight:
Is she not plotting now to wrong our right? *Spi.* right.
Brit. But from her mischiefes and her hands impure,
Canst thou our safe deliuerance assure? *Spi.* Sure.
Brit. Then notwithstanding this late losse befell,
And we fear'd much, I trust 'tis well. *Spi.* 'Tis well.²⁵

John Taylor cries:

For hee that was the worlds admired Lampe,
The life of Peace, of War, of Court, of Campe,
Th' expected hope of blest ensuing time,
Fell in his spring, and dide in golden prime.²⁶

²⁵ *Prince Henries obsequies; or mournefull elegies vpon his death*, in *Juvenilia*, Pt. 2, ed. Spenser Society, No. 10 (1871), pp. 392, 394, 395-396, 408.

²⁶ *Great Britaine, all in blacke. For the incomparable losse of Henry, our late worthy prince*, 1612, sig. B2^v. The title is set within

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Cyril Tourneur, servant of Melpomene as well as of Mars,
assures us that Henry's "aptness" both for peace and for war

fluently appears,
In eu'rie *Souldiers* gricfe, and *Schollars* teares.²⁷

Thomas Heywood, believing that

Princes swords
Should defend *Art*, and *Art* make Princes wise,
joins with Tourneur in offering "*Schollars* teares." "*Art* had
in him her Mansion."

His aime was to know *Art* and Chiuallry,
(Saue when to heauen he did his vowes betake.).

The elegists remember their patron who was "halfe *Loue*"
of arts, and "halfe [of] *Warre*." ²⁸ John Davies declares:

With *Arts* and *Letters* hee so stor'd his MIND
That both knew all therein, y'er *Youth* could know.²⁹

Though one doubts that books and Minerva got a full half

a heavy black ornamental border. Appended to Taylor's verses are several poems by William Rowley, who also contributed to *Mavsolevm*, sig. A4^v.

²⁷ *Works*, ed. Allardyce Nicoll, [193-], p. 271. Tourneur's elegy was published in 1613 in *Three elegies on the most lamented death of Prince Henrie: the first, the second, the third, written by Cyril Tourneur, John Webster, Tho. Heywood*. The title page and all blank pages are in heavy black, as if to suggest inexpressible sorrow. Of Tourneur's verses, Nicoll (p. 28) observes that "if we do not find the passion of inspiration, we do at least meet with a straightforward and manly expression of admiration and respect."

²⁸ *A funerall elegie, vpon the death of the late most hopefull and illustrious Prince, Henry, Prince of Wales*, 1613, sig. B4^v.

²⁹ *The muses-teares*, sig. A2^v.

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of Henry's time and affection, Christopher Brooke assures us that

His time by equall portions he diuided
Betweene his bookes and th' exercise of warre:

.
That Mars with wit's Minerua seem'd at iarre,
Which of them both should sway his princely hart,
Th' one with sterne armes; the other with milde art.⁸⁰

Sir Arthur Gorges has classical goddesses lament Henry:

For arts grew fainte when this sweet Prince was dead,
That in his life tyme them wth bountie fedd.⁸¹

Henry Peacham, the younger, cries:

The worlds sole wonder and delight,
The richest Iemme ere *Nature* wrought
For prizeles forme, of purest thought,
For chast desire, for Churches zeale,
For care and loue of common weale;
For manly shape, for actiue might,
For Courage and Heroique sprit,
For Loue of Armes and Heauenly Arts,
For Bounty toward all best deserts:

.
Oh neuer land had such a losse.⁸²

⁸⁰ *Fuller Worthies' Library*, IV, 181.

⁸¹ *The Olympian catastrophe dedicated to the worthy memory of the most heroicall lord Henry late illustrious prince of Wales*, 1612 (ed. from MS. by Randall Davies, Kensington, 1925), p. 48. Some two hundred six-line stanzas and several Shakespearean sonnets moan for "this brave of springe, of old Brutus lyne" (p. 36).

⁸² *The period of mourning. Disposed into sixe visions. In memorie of the late prince. Together with nuptiall hymnes, in honour of this*

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Brooke's *Elegie* just quoted invoked lamentation from

Musicke's sirens that were wont to moue
His soule harmonious.

In *The first set of English madrigals to 3. 4. 5. and 6. parts: apt both for viols and voyces* (1613) John Ward includes a "Mourning Song in memory of *Prince Henry*." ³³ No less a musician than Thomas Campion writes:

When Court and Musicke cal'd him, off fell armes,
And as hee had beene shap't for loues alarmes,
In harmony hee spake, and trod the ground
In more proportion then the measur'd sound.

Campion also remembers Henry, patron of voyaging and colonization, as "arm'd with all the arts That sute with Empire";

his care had beene
Suruaying India, and implanting there
The knowledge of that God which hee did feare.³⁴

Upon receiving the news of Henry's death, doughty old Sir Thomas Dale wrote:

My glorious master is gone, that would haue ennamelled with his fauours the labours I vndertake, for Gods cause, and his immortall honour. He was the great Captaine of our Israell, the hope to haue builded vp this heauenly new Jerusalem he interred (I think) the whole frame of this businesse, fell into his graue:

happy marriage betweene the great princes, Frederick . . . and Elizabeth, 1613, sigs. D2^v-D3. Numerous six-line stanzas and some short elegies mourn for "warlike *Arthur*."

³³ Sig. E3.

³⁴ *Works*, pp. 104-105.

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*for most mens forward (at least seeming so) desires are quenched, and Virginia stands in desperate hazard.*³⁵

A greater seaman than Sir Thomas mourned Henry's death, and with good cause. Sir Walter Raleigh and Henry had become friends about 1608 when their common interest in ships evoked Raleigh's letter on the building of the *Prince Royal* early in that year. To Raleigh, Henry had turned for advice on the foreign marriages proposed for himself and Elizabeth; and Raleigh had looked hopefully to Henry for release from the Tower. Henry had interceded to prevent Raleigh's manor of Sherborne from falling into Carr's hands, at least for a time. He had declared, report has it, that no "*other King but his Father would keep such a Man as Sir Walter in such a Cage*, meaning the *Tower*." ³⁶ Raleigh's cordial had given Henry a last moment of ease as he lay dying. Now Raleigh "amongst the rest . . . hath lost his greatest hope"; for he had "growne into speciall confidence" with Henry, "insomuch that he had moved the King divers times for him, and had lastly a graunt that he shold be delivered out of the Towre before Christmas." ³⁷

For Henry, Raleigh had written much. He had dedicated to him *Excellent Observations and Notes Concerning the Royall Navy and Sea-Service*, and *The Prince, or Maxims of State*.³⁸ He had written for him a *Discourse of the inven-*

³⁵ Hamor, sig. H2.

³⁶ Roger Coke, *A Detection of the Court and State of England*, 3d ed., 1697, p. 66. Coke, gossipy and unreliable, reports the remark as one of "several Stories" got from his father.

³⁷ Chamberlain, I, 389.

³⁸ The former was printed in 1650 with the title page reading, "Dedicated to the most Noble and Illustrious Prince HENRY Prince of WALES"; the latter in 1642, with the title page reading "*Written By Sir WALTER RAWLEY, and presented to Prince HENRY.*"

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tion of ships, anchors, compass, &c., and part of a treatise of

the art of war by sea, . . . a subject to my knowledge never handled by any man, ancient or modern; but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it by his loss; by the loss of that brave prince, of which, like an eclipse of the sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words and sorrows, I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him.⁸⁹

Raleigh had begun his famous *History of the World* about 1606 when relaxation in his confinement had taken place. Though entered at the Stationers' Register on April 15, 1611, the work had been held back to satisfy Henry's demands for a fuller secular narrative. A year and a half after its patron's death, the *History* was published, unfinished, and with moving laments for Henry. Toward the end of the preface Raleigh writes:

For it was for the service of that inestimable prince Henry, the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian world, that I undertook this work. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amiss. It is now left to the world without a master.

At the end of the *History*, just after the great apostrophe to death, Raleigh concludes:

Lastly, whereas this book, by the title it hath, calls itself *The First Part of the General History of the World*, implying a second and third volume, which I also intended, and have hewn out; besides many other discouragements persuading my silence, it hath pleased God to take that glorious prince out of the world to whom they were directed, whose unspeakable and never

⁸⁹ *Works*, VI, 83 (*History of the World*, Bk. V, Chap. I, Sec. 6).

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enough lamented loss hath taught me to say with Job, *Versa est in luctum cithara mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium*.⁴⁰

In 1615 Raleigh proudly wrote to Winwood:

Our late worthy prince of Wales was extreme curious in searching out the nature of my offences: the queen's majesty hath informed herself from the beginning; the king of Denmark at both times of his being here was thoroughly satisfied of my innocency; they would otherwise never have moved his majesty on my behalf.

The wife, the brother, and the son of a king, do not use to sue for men suspect.⁴¹

The cage might have been opened by that son of a king had he lived.

Henry's patronage of literary and scientific men is remembered. Webster laments the passing of this "Yong, grave *Mecænas* of the noble Arts." ⁴² Wither cries, "my hope-fulst Patron's dead." ⁴³ Devoted Chapman, dedicating his *An epicedie or a funerall song: on the most disastrous death, of the high-borne prince of men, Henry prince of Wales* to his friend Mr. Henry Jones, whose "extraordinary and noble loue and sorrow, borne to our most sweet PRINCE, entitles you worthily to this Dedication," begins:

⁴⁰ II, lxiv; VII, 901.

⁴¹ VIII, 629-630.

⁴² *A monvmental columnne, erected to the liuing memory of the euer-glorious Henry, late prince of Wales, 1613*, in *The Complete Works*, ed. F. L. Lucas, 1927, III, 281. Lucas thinks that young Giovanni's love of arms and military glory in *The White Devil* (II. i. 99-126) may be Webster's tribute to martial Henry; and that it is "just possible" Webster wrote immediately after the prince's death. See *Works*, I, 124-125, 217-218.

⁴³ *Juvenilia*, Pt. 2, p. 394.

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My truest Friend:

The most vnualuable and dismaifull loss of my deare and Heroicall Patrone, Prince HENRY, hath so stricken all my spirits to the earth, that I will neuer more dare, to looke vp to any greatnesse; but resolving the little rest of my poore life to obscuritie, and the shadow of his death; prepare euer hereafter, for the light of heauen.⁴⁴

He lauds his lost master, describes his illness and funeral, and exclaims:

Mourne, mourne, dissected now his cold lims lie,
Ah, knit so late with flame, and Maiestie.
Where's now his gracious smile, his sparkling eie
His Iudgement, Valour, Magnanimitie?

.

Mourne all ye Arts, ye are not of the earth;
Fall, fall with him.⁴⁵

Oxford and Cambridge, mothers of the arts in England, caught up the cries. Three volumes of elegies came from Henry's Oxford and one of two editions from Cambridge. Magdalen men composed *Luctus posthumus sive erga defunctum illustrissimum Henricum Walliæ principem* and dedicated the volume to the memory of their lost brother.⁴⁶ In it are many short Latin laments and a few Greek ones. "Mecœnas noster erat, studiisq; nostris impensissimè favebat"! ⁴⁷ A funeral oration in Latin prose ends the volume.

⁴⁴ *Poems*, p. 253.

⁴⁵ Pages 267-268. Chapman had been appointed sewer in ordinary to Henry in 1603. As the poet labored at Homer the prince gave him "the promise of £300, to which on his deathbed in 1612 he added another of a life-pension. These James failed to redeem, and Chapman also lost his place as sewer" (Chambers, III, 250).

⁴⁶ Sig. A2.

⁴⁷ Sig. I3^v.

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Familiar themes pervade it, as the following verses by William Yonge suggest:

Doctrinæ columen: Belli tutela: futurus
Deliciæ cœli, Qui fuit ante foli.
Cœlestis soboles terreno è sanguine: Natus
Jupiter alme tuus, Diue JACOBÆ tuus.
Spes Patris; patriæq; decus: metus vnicus hostis,
Romanæ gentis terror, & orbis erat.
Omnia quod superat: Princeps Tuus, Anglia, clarus
HENRICVS, clauso conditur hoc tumulo.⁴⁸

Oxford men compiled *Eidyllia in obitum fulgentissimi Henrici Walliæ principis duodecimi, Romæq; ruentis terroris maximi* and dedicated it to the memory of Henry.⁴⁹ Bits of Syriac, Arabic, Turkic, and Chaldaic give a learned air to the anthology, chiefly made up of Latin pieces and a few Greek ones. Notable are the three eclogues that form the main part of the book. They are superior examples of their kind and show real competence; the "Daphnis"⁵⁰ has a refrain that lends life and movement. But the pastoral conceits throughout the pieces are conventional and reminiscent of Ovid or Virgil.⁵¹ The third Oxford anthology, *Iusta Oxoniensium*, is a full one. Some hundred and sixty-five contributors sign the various pieces in Latin (chiefly), Greek, French,

⁴⁸ Sigs. G4-G4^v. A Greek hexameter poem (sigs. F2-F2^v) lauds Henry's piety, self-restraint, intelligence, bodily strength, personal beauty, skill in statecraft, love of justice, hatred of accursed papists, and love of good men and poets. Some Latin lines to Anne give as the reason why Henry failed to marry:

Iam sponsæ maturus erat, sed quærere sponsam

Non placuit; nec enim hic digna reperta satis (sig. C4).

⁴⁹ Sig. A2.

⁵⁰ Sigs. C2-C3.

⁵¹ See the competent comment on the elegies by Leicester Bradner, *Musæ Anglicanæ*, New York, 1940, pp. 100-101.

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and Hebrew, and dedicate their work to Henry. The volume is conventional, though workmanlike. Again the familiar themes:

Princeps spes Patriæ, & salus, futurus
 Defensor fidei, timor Papistæ,
 Aulæ summus honos, stuporq; regni,
 Humani generis decus stupendum,
 Quem fas Semideum est pîjs vocare,
 Manes ante diem petens sepultos,
 Vt cunctis animam rapit Britannis,
 Qui desiderio sui senescunt,
 Sic luctum & gemitum relinquit orbi,
 Orbi præcipue beatiori
 Verum Euangelium pie colenti.

HENRICVS princeps tria munera sustinet vnus,
 Verè patronus, dux, dominusque fuit.
 Felicem doctis se præbuit ille patronum,
 Nobilibus dominum, militibusque ducem.
 Multa quidem doctum fecit doctrina patronum,
 Maiestas dominum fecit, et hasta ducem.
 Ergo turba dolet triplex; schola nostra patronum
 Deplorat, dominum curia, castra ducem.

SEU fueras pacis studijs, sen [*sic*] deditus armis
 Me dederam auspicijs, & mea cuncta tuis.⁵²

From Cambridge came the last of the university anthologies, *Epicedium Cantabrigiense, in obitum immaturum*,

⁵² Sigs. A3^v, E4, N4^v. Verses on sigs. F3^v–F4 have heaven rejoicing though earth is sorrowful. The company of lesser saints stand up and worship the greater saint just arriving. The long line of Henrys is pleased and salutes the ninth. Milton's "abhorred shears" come to mind at the following lines:

Lachesis non stamina scindat,
 Sed rumpat properante manu (sig. F3).

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semperq; deflendum, Henrici, illustrissimi principis Walliæ.
One edition in 1612 embraces numerous signed pieces in Latin and a few in French and Greek; another in the same year drops eighteen Latin contributions and one French to make room for twelve in English. Giles Fletcher contributed the first of the English poems, twelve stanzas in pseudo-pastoral style of which the following are representative:

When thou thy Countreys grieve, weart once her glory,
How was this blessed Isle crown'd with delight;
So long it neuer knew how to be sorry,
But anchor'd all her ioyes vpon thy sight;
The musique euery whear did freely lite:
The Sheapheards pip't, and countrey byrds did sing,
The water-nymphs came dauncing from their spring.

Her happie fields wear dec'kt with euery flowre,
That with her sweetest lookes Peace smild' to see it.
Delight it selfe betwixt her breasts did bowre,
And oft her rustique Nymphs thy coach would meet,
And strow with flowers the way before thy feete.
But now those flowers wee woont to strow before thee,
Dead, in thy graue wee throw them to adore thee.

See how the yeare with thee is stricken dead,
And from her bosome all her flowers hath throwne,
With thee the trees their hairens fling from their head,
And all the Sheapheards pipes are deadly blowne,
All musique now, and mirth is hatefull growne:
Onely *Halcyons* sad lamenting pleasures,
And that Swans dirge, that, as hee sings, decreases.

The arrival-in-heaven passage is the conventional turn in an epic-dium, as elegies for Queen Elizabeth remind one.

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But Henry's "engladdened soule embalmed" lies

Imbrighted into that celestiall light,
Which all Gods saintly Lamps doth glorifie,
Thear boast thy kindred with the Deitie
 Whear God his Sonne, and Christ his Brother greet thee,
And thy too little glorious sisters meete thee.

The elegy ends:

On earth our Prince is now in heau'n a King.⁵³

The four university anthologies maintain a good level of Latinity, certainly as high as that of most books of the kind produced on the Continent. The Latin, naturally much under the influence of Ovid, abounds in classical tags and conventional elegiac conceits. A constant theme is Henry's patronage of letters and learning. Arthur's heir, too, would have been a great warrior—and a bulwark against the papists.

No elegy occasioned by Henry's death achieves greatness, though Drummond's has distinction and others hold moments of beauty and tenderness. With Raleigh, Jonson, Chapman, and Drayton beside Henry's bier—and Shakespeare living—one may be surprised that no great elegy was written on the early death of a prince everywhere loved.⁵⁴ Genius and grief simply nowhere happened to meet in magical harmony. But the host of elegiac exercises I have been

⁵³ Sigs. N4-O1. The other edition of the *Epicedium* contained (sigs. I3-I4) the first published work of another young poet who later attained fame, George Herbert.

⁵⁴ In "An Elegie upon the death of Lady Penelope Clifton" Drayton wrote:

When *France* and *England's* HENRIE's dy'd, my quill,
Why, I know not, but it that time lay still (*Works*, III
[1932], 219).

Jonson was in France as tutor to the son of Sir Walter Raleigh from

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reviewing helped keep supple the English genius for the form. And I think they were not wasted upon the imagination that reached a "high-water mark" in *Lycidas*. That great poem, as everyone knows, blends native and foreign themes into a supreme pastoral elegy. The harmony in Milton's "Doric lay" is so complete our ears can hardly catch in it echoes of any of the "various quills" that sounded when Henry died. The dominant influence of Theocritus, Virgil, and Spenser on *Lycidas* has been well studied;⁵⁵ and unquestionably the poem looks directly toward classical models in the pastoral elegy, not to native ones. Yet a supreme poem may bear juxtaposition with any of its forebears if the placement deepens our knowledge of its art and beauty. To re-read *Lycidas* with the Henry elegies in mind is not only to throw its beauty into relief against a discord of lugubrious laments; it is to catch faintly a few of their notes transposed by genius.

A precocious child of five or six before the national grief for Henry subsided, Milton surely had that sorrow stamped upon his sensitive mind. Such a lamentable and untimely event "would necessarily be talked over in English households like that of the elder Milton."⁵⁶ As we have seen, almost all the poets were vocal for their distraught nation, bereft of its beloved prince who at eighteen had particularly inspired the hopes of those who longed to see a reformed church dominant. Joy in the marriage of Elizabeth to the

the autumn of 1612 to some date in 1613 earlier than June 29 (Chambers, III, 354).

⁵⁵ See J. H. Hanford, "The Pastoral Elegy and Milton's *Lycidas*," in *PMLA*, XXV (1910), 402-447.

⁵⁶ David Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, I (Cambridge, 1859), 45.

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Elector Palatine early in 1613 did not (as we shall see) hush the sorrow, nor did the presence of a new prince of Wales. As late as the year before Milton went up to Christ's, Prince Henry as the champion of the Protestant religion against Spain and the "grim wolf with the privy paw" still lived in the popular memory: witness only the title of a tract published in 1624: *Vox Coeli, or newes from heaven. Of a consultation there held by the high and mighty princes, King Hen. 8. King Edw. 6. Prince Henry, Queene Mary, Queene Elizabeth, and Queene Anne, wherein Spaines ambition and treacheries to most kingdomes and free estates of Evrope, are vnmasked and truly represented, but more perticularly towards England, and now more especially vnder the pretended match of Prince Charles, with the Infanta Dona Maria*.⁵⁷ At Cambridge in 1625 Milton met a tradition that called for poems from university men on university or national events of importance. Cambridge poets had mourned for Sidney and Elizabeth. They had wept for Henry in 1612 and for his mother in 1617.⁵⁸ When Edward King, born in the year in which Henry died, was, like Henry in 1612, "dead ere his prime" in 1637, Cambridge men set about a memorial volume, *Iusta Edouardo King naufrago*. As Milton worked at *Lycidas* his capacious memory surely embraced many verses from the "various quills" that had sounded at Cambridge and everywhere else for lost Meliades. He would hardly have composed forgetful of the fullest elegiac chorus of his lifetime.

Students have noted in the diction and cadences of *Lycidas* two or three faint echoes of Drummond's elegies for Henry. Behind line 106 of *Lycidas*,

⁵⁷ See below, pp. 169-171.

⁵⁸ See below, p. 169.

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Like to that sanguine flower inscribed with woe,
may lie the last lines of the following quotation from *Mavsoleum*:

Stay Passenger, see where enclosed lyes,
The Paragon of Princes, fairest Frame,
Time, Nature, Place could show to mortall eyes,
In Worth, Wit, Vertue wonder vnto Fame.
At least that part the Earth of him could claime,
This Marble holds, *hard like the Destinies*:
For as to his braue Spirit, and glorious Name,
The one the World, the other fills the Skyes.
Th' immortal *Amaranthus*, princelie *Rose*,
Sad *Violet*, and that sweet flowre that beares
In sanguine spots the tenor of our woes,
Spred on this stone, and wash it with thy teares.⁵⁹

Drummond's other elegy, *Teares on the death of Mæliades*,

⁵⁹ Sig. A2^v. Noted by Kastner, *Works*, I, 220. Two or three touches in the elegies of the Cambridge *Epepidium* may be worth noting as parallels to familiar verses in *Lycidas*:

- (1) 'Αιάζειν σύμπασι πάρα κλεινοῖσι βρετάνοις;
Διπλοῦν γράμμα τὸ σὸν νῦν Ἰάκινθε λάλει (sig. G4).

The flower "inscribed with woe" is of course a classical commonplace.

- (2) The verses,

Adeste sorores

Naiades. Anglesie, Calydonia, Cambria, Ierna, Orcades (sig. M1), may recall Milton's invocation of native nymphs.

(3) One of the better poems in the volume is a longish piece by Henry Wickham (sigs. D3-E1). It is conducted somewhat like *Lycidas*; e.g., in such turns as

Non te expirantem Nymphæ spectare, nec ipsi

Te Satyri potuere, aut, rustica numina, Fauni.

The river Thames pauses to grieve, and Camus appears:

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is in nearly 200 lines of rhymed verse, of the kind called Decasyllabics or Heroics. The form is that of a Pastoral. . . . The versification is really fine, and is much more varied than might be expected from the general measure. Especially there is a very artistic paragraphing, or division into musical parts, helped by the closing of four of the interior paragraphs with this repeated couplet, which also closes the whole elegy:—

Mœliades, sweet courtly nymphs, deplore
From Thule to Hydaspes' pearly shore.

Altogether, in reading the elegy, one is led to fix on Milton's *Lycidas* as the poem of subsequent celebrity most resembling it, even while so greatly superior to it; and one receives also an impression that Milton must have known it before he wrote *Lycidas*. Not only in the structure, and in certain particular lines and phrases, is this suggested; but, there is something of the same sustained pastoralism, the same poetical tact, the same skill in throwing historical facts into an ideal air.⁶⁰

Some of the verses that may suggest that Milton knew Drummond's *Tears* I have quoted in another connection,⁶¹ but a few others are worth hearing:

*The Heauens had brought thee to the highest Hight,
Of Wit, and Courage, shewing all their Might
When they thee fram'd: Ay mee! that what is braue
On Earth, they as their owne so soone should craue.
Mœliades sweet courtly Nymphes deplore,
From Thuly to Hydaspes pearlie Shore.*

Et tu, Chame pater ('reverend sire?') . . .
. . . nec invtilis alga ('sedge?').

At the end Henry is welcomed to heaven by England's Elizabeth.

⁶⁰ David Masson, *Drummond of Hawthornden: The Story of His Life and Writings*, 1873, p. 38.

⁶¹ See above, pp. 136-137.

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*Chaste Maides which haunt faire Aganippe Well,
And you in Tempes sacred Shade who dwell,
Let fall your Harpes, cease Tunes of Ioy to sing,
Discheueled make all Parnassus ring
With Antheames sad, thy Musicke Phœbus turne
In dolefull Plaints, whilst Ioy it selfe doth mourne:
Dead is thy Darling, who decor'd thy Bayes,
Who oft was wont to cherish thy sweet Layes,
And to a Trumpet raise thine amorous Stile,
That floting Delos enuie might this Ile.*

.
*Mœliades sweet courtly Nymphes deplore,
From Thuly to Hydaspes pearlie Shore.*⁶²

In Joshua Sylvester's "A Funeral Elegie" are verses that suggest a possible base for Milton's famous figure of the "two-handed engine." Translations of Du Bartas by Sylvester were a chief part of Milton's "poetical nutriment";⁶³ he was the English poet "whose rhymes and cadences dwelt most familiarly in his ear"⁶⁴ and he remained "among the permanent sources of his inspiration."⁶⁵ The verses I quote have a climactic position in Sylvester's "Elegie." They end the central paragraph in an elegy for a nation's "dearest pledge," "dead ere his prime." After a declaration that the sins of all the people have caused God to smite the land with Henry's death, comes this extended invective rebuking the corrupt clergy and culminating in notable vindictive epithets:

⁶² *Works*, I, 77-79.

⁶³ *DNB*, LV, 261.

⁶⁴ David Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, 2d ed., I (1875), 67.

⁶⁵ J. H. Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," in *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne*, New York, 1925, p. 95.

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Wee Clergie, first, who too-too-oft haue stood
 More for the Church-goods, then the Churches good:
Wee Nobles next, whose Title, euer strong,
 Can hardly offer Right, or suffer Wrong:
Wee Magistrates, who, mostly, weake of sight,
 Are rather faine to feele then see the Right:
Wee Officers, whose *Price* of euery *Place*
 Keeps *Vertue* out, and bringeth *Vice* in grace:
Wee Gentles then, who, rack, and sack, and sell,
 To swimme like *Sea-Crabs*, in a *fourè-wheeld Shell*:
Wee Courtiers, next, who *French-Italianate*,
 Change (with the *Moon*) our *Fashion*, *Faith*, and *Fate*.
Wee Lawyers then, who *Dedализing* LAVV,
 And dcadding *Conscience*, like the Horse-leach drawe:
Wee Cittizens, who seeming *Pure* and *Plaine*,
 Beguile our Brother, make our *God* our *GAYNE*:
Wee Countrie-men, who slander Heav'n and Earth
 As Authors of Our *Artificall Dearth*:
Wee Pourueyors, last, who taking tenn for two,
 Rob both at once, our *Prince* and *People* too:
 All, briefly All; all Ages, Sexes, Sorts,
 In *Countries*, *Citties*, *Benches*, *Churches*, *Courts*,
 (All *Epicures*, *Witt-Wantons*, *Athèists*,
Mach'-Aretines, *Momes*, *Tap-To-Bacchonists*,
Batts, *Harpies*, *Sirens*, *Centaures*, *Bib-all-nights*,
Sice-sink-ap-Asses, *Hags*, *Hermaphrodites*)
 And *Wee* poore *Nothings* (fixed in no Spheare,
 Right *Wandering* *Tapers*, *Erring* euery-where)
 Scorne of the *Vulgar*, Scandall of the *Gowne*,
 Haue pull'd this waight of *Wrath*, This *Vengeance* down;
 All, All are *guiltie*, in a high Degree,
 Of This *High-Treason* and *Conspiracie*;
 More brute then *Brutus*, stabbing more then *CAESAR*,
 With Two-hand-SINNES of *Profit* and of *Pleasure*:

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And (th'odious *Engine*, which dooth All include,)
Our Many-pointed proude INGRATITVDE.⁶⁶

If this passage "dropped . . . into the deep well of unconscious cerebration" in Milton's imagination, its capping epithets may have coalesced to suggest the diction, if not—alas—the meaning, of the famous crux in *Lycidas*.

The dominant themes in *Lycidas* are thoroughly conventional—nature's lament, the questioning of the deities, the procession of mourners, the pastoral and Christian consolation, and even the ecclesiastical passage which may be paralleled in *The Shepherdes Calender* and elsewhere. But a great elegy so transcends conventions and the particular sorrow that evoked it that it may speak for a sorrow removed from it in time. Phrases in *Lycidas* fit Meliades, gone "ere his prime." As all the mourners lamented, he had literally not "left his peer." Most "bitter constraint and sad occasion dear" actually compelled their tears, however unmelodious. Literary men whom he had befriended knew truly a "heavy change" when the blind Fury had "slit the thin-spun life" of England's "dearest pledge." Jove and Jehovah blend in Maxwell's elegy as they do in Milton's. Meliades was indeed to have crushed the "grim Wolf with privy paw," Niccols, Wither, and others declare. Although his body now lay in a "laureate hearse," Davies saw his soul living eternally "in the blest kingdom meek of joy and love"—

But (ah) he *Was*, and is not; WAS! (ô word
Able to strike the Soule of Patience dead)

⁶⁶ *Lachrymæ lachrymarum, or the spirit of teares, distilled for the untimely death of the incomparable prince, Panaretus*, 3d ed., 1613, sigs. B2-B3. Cf. *Works*, II, 277-278. The last two verses do not appear in the first edition of the elegy in *Lachrimæ lachrymarum*, 1612.

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And why not IS? Hee IS, and is a LORD
Whom Angels serue, and with their Food is fedd.⁶⁷

Heywood asks why young Henry has been cut down and acquits various powers. He, Basse, Wither, Baudius, Sylvester, and others assert that the sins of the people have called down the disaster—a note that Milton wisely does not sound. He also sidestepped the metaphysical style in which Davies, Donne, King, and Webster (to an extent) wrote their elegies. Anyone perusing the Henry elegies will be struck by their metrical variety. Basse writes eight-line stanzas that end in two Alexandrines; Browne, elaborate stanzas; Campion and Webster, couplets; Davies and Drummond, decasyllabics with alternate rhymes; Heywood, ottava rima; Maxwell, Niccols, and Peacham, six-line stanzas; Wither and the authors of *Great Brittans mourning garment*, Shakespearean sonnets; and the many contributors to the university anthologies, various classical meters. And there are many other forms. Early absorbing this discordant medley of elegiac movements, a master evoked the beautifully ordered variety of *Lycidas*, its iambic pentameter organically united with variously rhymed iambic trimeter and capped by ottava rima. Milton's artistry lies in what he avoided as well as in what he did. "It is not likely that Milton was much impressed by any of the English elegies beside those of Spenser,"⁶⁸ yet the Henry elegies were not wholly lost within his capacious and transforming imagination.

I have told of Henry's death and of the sorrow for him too heedless, perhaps, of Alice Meynell's finely voiced com-

⁶⁷ *The muses-teares*, sig. C3. Thomas Rogers, John Taylor, and Drummond make the same point.

⁶⁸ Hanford, *PMLA*, XXV, 445.

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plaint that modern biographers, unlike the wild world with its creatures, will not have a man to die out of sight, will have his illness disproportionate, the death out of all scale.⁶⁹ Nor would Henry have wished his death done out of all scale. Sir Charles Cornwallis assures us that Henry never desired to live long, "many times saying, That it was to small purpose for a brave gallant man, when the prime of his dayes were past, to live so long untill he were full of aches, soares, &c. uttering contemptible speeches of Death."⁷⁰ Henry's last quick interest in the world was the coming marriage of the one he most loved. He looked toward life; and it is time that I told of his part in life's ongoing.⁷¹

⁶⁹ "A Point of Biography," in *Essays*, 1914, p. 45.

⁷⁰ *The life and death*, sig. G2^v.

⁷¹ Even so, I pass by such elegiac verse as: Dominicus Baudius, *Monvmentum consecratum honori & memoriae serenissimi Britanniarum principis*, 1613; Richard Brathwait, *The poets willow: or, the passionate shepheard*, 1614, sigs. A3^v-A4^v; William Browne, *An elegie on the never inough bewailed death of the vvorthy, vertuous, glory of these, and wonder for ensuing times, Henry, prince of Wales*, printed with Christopher Brooke's elegy in *Two elegies*, 1613, and later made into the fifth song of the first book of *Britannia's Pastorals* (*Poems*, ed. Gordon Goodwin, 1894, I, 142-148); John Donne, *Elegie on the vntimely death of the incomparable prince Henry*, first published in Joshua Sylvester's *Lachrymæ Lachrymarum*, 3d ed., 1613, sigs. E1-E2; Alexander Julius, *In Henricum Fridericum primogenitum Jacobi . . . Walliæ principem . . . lachrymæ*, Edinburgh, 1612; Henry King, *Upon Prince Henry's death* (*The English Poems*, ed. Lawrence Mason, New Haven, 1914, pp. 83-84); *Raccolta, d'alcune rime, del cavaliere Lodovico Petrucci, . . . con la selua delle sue persecutioni*, Oxford, 1613 (celebrating Henry *in vita* and *in morte*, sigs. A4^v-B1, B2^v-B3); Thomas Rogers, *Gloucesters myte, delivered vvith the mournefull records of Great Britaine, into the worlds register. For the . . . remembrance of . . . prince Henrie*, 1612; and *Brittanniæ pietas in*

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Elizabeth's marriage of course had to be postponed until after the court would be out of mourning on March 24. May Day seemed the earliest possible date for a wedding which many even thought might never take place inasmuch as now only delicate Charles stood between Elizabeth and the English throne. But James hated gloom and was fixed on the marriage. On December 18 he privately invested Frederick with the Order of the Garter. Crippled by a sore toe, he received his coming son-in-law "sitting up in his bedd; after a few wordes put the George about his neck"; and bestowed on him the diamond star and ribbon which had belonged to Prince Henry.⁷² On December 27 in the banqueting house he presided at the betrothal ceremony before a gallery packed with spectators. Before he left London to hunt at Royston ten days after Christmas, James finally fixed his daughter's wedding for February 14, the elector having insisted upon the earliest possible day. On February 7 the banns were read for the last time; thereafter Elizabeth took up her

Henricum principem, Huntington Library MS. [15.] 6861. Notable Latin verses accompany Leonell Sharpe's *Oratio funebris in honorem Henricj*, 1612, sigs. A2-A3; Latin and Greek verses, Sir Francis Nethersole's *Memoriæ sacræ . . . Henrici Walliæ principis, . . . laudatio funebris*, Cambridge, 1612, sigs. D2^v-D3^v. A certain "T. S." (*Inedited Poetical Miscellanies*, 1584-1700, 1870) catches the spirit of all in the following epitaph:

Lo, where he shineth yonder,
A fixed star in heaven,
Whose brightness here came under
None of the planets seven!
For if the sun should tender
Love to the moon, and marry,
They both could not engender
So bright a star as Harry.

⁷² Oman, p. 69.

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residence in St. James's, the palace of her late brother.⁷³ Finally, after a great show of fireworks on the Thames and a mock sea fight there on the wedding eve, Frederick claimed his bride in an elaborate ceremony at Whitehall at noon on St. Valentine's Day. Elizabeth's most recent biographer writes:

There is ample proof that Elizabeth, although she took part with zest in the gaieties, did not forget her loss now or hereafter. A poet with an elegy and a servant of Prince Henry who brought her property that had belonged to their master, were given five pounds apiece at her command.⁷⁴

D'Ewes wrote that although the wedding was celebrated amid much joy and solemnity, "the sad countenances of many did sufficiently show that her invaluable brother's death could not yet be forgotten."⁷⁵

Many of the nuptial odes and tracts celebrating the marriage were bound together with elegies for Henry.⁷⁶ Though most of the pieces are feeble, they show the people sensible of the mark Henry had left on advancing life, especially in his links with the living whom he loved.

*There is great strife twixt death and loue,
Which of them is the stronger,
And which of them can strike the stroake,
Whose wound endures the longer.*

⁷³ Oman, p. 75.

⁷⁴ Page 72. I am indebted to Miss Oman for the organization of details about the wedding.

⁷⁵ *Autobiography*, I, 52.

⁷⁶ Sometimes elegies for Henry turn into celebrations of Elizabeth and the elector, for their nuptials gave a theme of life and continuity with which to relieve doleful laments. Of this sort are

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HENRY FREDERICK, sayd they both,
 Shall be our marke to trie;
 Which of vs twaine can doe the deede,
 To get the victorie:
 Death HENRY strikes, God Cupid strikes,
 Faire FREDERICKS strength to proue.
 So HENRY dyes a sodaine death,
 So FREDERICK is in loue:
 VVe know Loue is as strong, as Death,
 But Death to Loue must yeeld:
 For Death is past, loue still remaines,
 God Cupid wins the Field.⁷⁷

Robert Allyne writes in *Teares of ioy shed at the happy departure from Great Britaine, of the two paragons of the Christian world. Fredericke and Elizabeth, prince, and princesse Palatines of Rhine* (1613):

Our Henry-Fredricke, lies in timelesse toome,
 Whose double name exprest not halfe his worth;
 A *Fredricke* in his losse, supplies his roome,
 And bearing halfe his name, one halfe sets forth
 Of him, whose all, is hardly match'd by two,
 And therefore is too much, for one, to do.
 Yet thou (braue youth) of all the sonnes of men,
 Was onely worthy, to be one of three,
 Ranck'd in that roome, by him, who brook'd it then,

William Basse, *Great Brittaines sunnes-set. Bewailed with a shower of teares*, Oxford, 1613 (*Poetical Works*, pp. 87-100); and Patrick Gordon, *Neptvnu Britannicus Corydonis*, 1613, a longish piece with a marine-pastoral coloring.

⁷⁷ Joannes Maria de Franchis, *Of the most auspicious marriage: betwixt, the high and mightie prince, Frederick; . . . and the most illustrious princesse, the Ladie Elizabeth* [trans. S. Hutton], 1613, sig. L3^v.

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And dying, did resigne the same to thee,
Who by a high instinct of heauenly grace,
Left not the world, till thou assum'd his place.
Go then, great Prince, and thou his other halfe,
Grace of his youth, and glory of his age,
Key of his secret thoughts, his second selfe;
Ioy in his care, and comfort in his rage;
And each, in others debt, so deepe inuolued,
That *Gordius* knot can sooner be dissolued.⁷⁸

For James Maxwell and many others "*that peerelesse Prince Henry seemeth to inuite and adiure all the Worthies of Britannie, by their most ardent loue towards him dead and aliue, to glorifie the day of his deere sisters departure for Germany*" on her "*Argo, named Prince-Henry.*" Henry and his sister are inseparable in the national memory:

Her presence sweete we must no more
Inioy, (alas) which was the ioy of hearts
To all Her sex, as HENRIES was before
To those of His, men, women of all parts;
Which came to Court, to veiw [*sic*] the worth, and state
Which their [*sic*] did shine through Him and Her of late.

The spirit of Elizabeth's brother guides her when she sails
in his ship to her new home:

Henry who did his sweetest sister loue
With heart so pure, so sure, me thinkes I see
How he doth beg leaue of the Powers aboue
For to come downe from heauen to *Germany*:
Bringing with him a Garland for the day,
That *Heidelberge* salutes her Queene of May.

⁷⁸ Sig. B1^v.

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Me thinkes I see him, from Saint *Abrahams* hill
By *Heidelberge* inspiring euery wight,
How to vnite their Powers, wit and skill,
Their Towne to decke with greatest glory bright,
Against the day that his deere Sister sweete,
In greatest state must ride along the streete.

Though

in one yeare, we drinke of double woes;
By loosing first our Lilly, then our Rose;

nevertheless,

Me thinkes I see sweete HENRY with his hand
Plucking the choicest flowers of Paradise;
One day to decke this twice defloured Land
With *Syons* store, to make it happy thrise;
Euen now he makes a Garland for the day,
That CHARLES shall beare *Constantines* crowne away.

There "was neuer one that loued his brother more deerely
then our peerelesse Prince *Henry* did his brother Duke
Charles":

For like as *Pollux* to his brother deere
Castor by name, his glory did impart;
Haluing with him his owne Immortall Sphere,
So much had *Castor* of Prince *Pollux* heart:
Euen so would *Henry* halue his Princely State,
That his lou'd *Charles* might it participate.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ *A monvment of remembrance, erected in Albion, in honor of the magnificent departure from Britannie, and honorable receiuing in Germany, namely at Heidelberge, of the two most noble princes, 1613, sigs. A3, B1, B3^v, B1^v. Cf. Meletemata, in honores nuptiales nobilissimi Frederici; . . . et . . . Elizabethæ, 1613, sig. D4. Similar themes appear in the anthology compiled by Oxford men to cele-*

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Several books intended for Pollux went to Castor in 1613. John Waymouth dedicated to Charles a "*little Table, for a direction, to the reading ouer of the whole Bible in a yeere. . . . because, as my studies did wholly tend to the seruice of (that neuer to be forgotten) Prince HENRIE, vnto whom I demonstrated diuers conclusions in the Mathematickes, so now on whom should they . . . chiefly wait but on your Highnesse?*"⁸⁰ Michael Walpole, having directed the former part of his work to James, "esteemed the later, in all respects, due vnto Prince Henry your brother, being thē alieue: but since that time it hath pleased God to call him out of this world, and to giue vs your Highnesse in his place."⁸¹ In his dedication to Charles, Sir John Hayward tells in detail how Henry evoked *The lives of the III. Normans, kings of England*. A few months before his death Henry summoned Sir John, lamented the lack of English histories worthy of the nation's past, ably discussed the qualifications of a good historian, and told Sir John that he longed to have from his pen a history of times past as well as the one of times present then in the royal hands.

Hereupon, beautifying his face with a sober smile, he desired mee, that against his returne from the progresse then at hand, I would perfect somewhat of both sorts for him, which he promised amply to requite. . . .

brate Elizabeth's marriage, *Epithalamia. Sive lusus Palatini in nuptis celsissimi principis domini Friderici . . . ad Rhenvm, &c. et serenissimæ Elisabethæ Iacobi regis filiæ*, Oxford, 1613, sigs. D3-D3^v, F1, G4^v, H1^v, H2^v, I4, K2^v, L2, N2^v, P4^v, Q1-Q1^v.

⁸⁰ *A plaine and easie table, whereby any man may bee directed how to reade ouer the whole Bible in a yeere*, sigs. A2-A2^v.

⁸¹ *A treatise concerning antichrist conteyning an answeere to the Protestant proofes*, sig. **[1].

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At his returne from the Progresse to his house at S. James, these pieces were deliuered vnto him; which hee did not onely courteously, but ioyfully accept. And because this seemed a perfect worke, he expressed a desire that it should be published. Not long after he died; and with him died both my endeauours and my hopes. His death, alas! hath bound the liues of many vnto death, face to face; being no wayes able, either by forgetfulnesse to couer their grieffe, or to diminish it with consideration.

After an extensive eulogy of his dead patron, Hayward gives as his first reason for dedicating to Charles the book's having "*receiued this being from him, who was most dearely esteemed by you; who may be iustly proposed, as an example of vertue, as a guide to glory and fame.*"⁸² Sir Robert Dalington, offering Charles *Aphorismes civill and militarie*, cannot compliment him beyond wishing that

Your matchlesse Brother for these seuen yeares to come, may take you by the hand, and leade you in the faire apprenticesage of all honour and vertue. . . . It was your Brothers, and sues among other his seruants for entertainment: hoping vnder the Impression of his worthy memorie, and Stampe of your gracious fauour to passe currant.⁸³

One's sympathy goes to young Charles, praised by Sir Robert and the rest only by being told that all eyes are upon him to

⁸² Sigs. A₃, A₄.

⁸³ Sig. A₃^v. William Cheeke inscribed his *Anagrammata, et chron-anagrammata regia*: "Perillustri Potentissimorum Principum TRIADI Consecratum: MAGNI IACOBI Filiorum HONORI CAROLI vnici Superstitis; FVNERI HENRICI Nuper demortui; Fœderi FEDERICI Fœlici Succedentis; DEDICATVM à Gulielmo Checo Durotrige" (sig. A₂). Anagrams on Henry's name appear on sigs. A₈, B₁–B₈, C₁–C₇.

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discover his "matchless Brother" in his "princely selfe."

Soon Henry had a nephew and namesake. Henry Peacham, was inspired to celebrate his arrival in *Prince Henrie revived. Or a poeme vpon the birth, and in honor of the hopefull yong Prince Henrie Frederick, first sonne and heire apparant to the most excellent princes, Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the mirrour of ladies, Princesse Elizabeth, his wife, only daughter to our soueraigne Iames* (1615). He observed that

*Deare Henries losse, Eliza's wedding day,
The last, the first, I sorrowed and song,
When laid my reedes for euermore away,
To sleep in silence, Isis shades among.*

But this

*Royall child, who like another Sunne,
From Rosie bed arised'st in the East,*

made him end his silence and call on the spirit of the royal child whose death he had mourned:

*Ah Henry, waile of euery gentle brest,
Dart one sweet smile vpon me early ghest:
And that my Muse with thine owne height may flie,
A feather shed from thy faire Phoenix nest:
So may she teach thy Fame to strike the skie,
And thee a Mirrour make to all Posteritie.⁸⁴*

William Fennor first let his fancy range back over the courtship when Frederick came awooing. Then such "ioy sprung forth on euery side" that the envious gods agreed to let death strike Henry—

⁸⁴ Sigs. A₃^v–A₄^v.

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A Prince that never had his like;
 For as his vertue all excel'd
 His valour was vnparallel'd
 Heauen tooke his worth, earth knew his want,
 And made a generall complaint;
 Great Brittain clad in sable blacke,
 With endlesse teares lament his lacke.
 This hopefull match begot great gladnesse,
 But *Henries* death a solemne sadnesse.
 And had not these two opposites
 Met, *England* sure had lost hir wits:
 For had their [*sic*] beene no funerall,
 To stay this happy Nuptiall,
 With mirth her selfe might haue destroy'd.
 So had there beene no Nuptiall,
 After this driery funerall,
 This Iland would her selfe confound,
 Of force to drowne with her owne teares
 A heart of cork.

Elizabeth had left a

Land where she is knowne,
 To see a strange Land of her owne.

.

And eare twelue moneths their course had run
 Betwixt them they possesse a Sonne.
 This blessed newes the Seas sent post,
 To comfort vs for him we lost;
 From *Henry's* ashes, there is sprung,
 A second *Henry*, who eare long
 We hope shall in the Land arriue,
 The hearts of all men to reuiue.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ *Fennors descriptions, or a true relation of certaine and diuers speeches, spoken before the king and queenes most excellent*

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Love and sorrow for Prince Henry were persistent and pervasive. Joshua Sylvester's grief for his patron is heard in *The parliament of vertues royall*; . . . *a præsaige of Pr. Dolphin; a pourtrait of Pr. Henry; a promise of Pr. Charles* (1614).⁸⁶ In dedicating to Charles *The maiden's blush* (1620) Sylvester describes himself:

Nigh stript of all, Now stept in hoary haire;
*Sit (I poore Relique, of your Brother's wrack.)*⁸⁷

Within a year of Henry's death Oxford lost her great benefactor Sir Thomas Bodley and John Petre, Baron of Writtle. When bewailing Bodley's death in a volume of Latin and Greek elegies, Merton men remembered Henry.⁸⁸ Exeter men lamented a year that took their brother, their patron, and their prince.⁸⁹ Henry drew elegiac epigrams from John

maiestie, the prince his highnesse, and the Lady Elizabeth's grace, 1616, sigs. D2-D3. John Harrison wishes that this "second Henry" "will one day make good all those great hopes which wear dead in *Prince Henrie*, but revived againe in him" (*A short relation of the departure of . . . Frederick king elect of Bohemia: with his . . . Ladie Elizabeth; and the thryse hopefull yong Prince Henrie, from Hydelberg towards Prague, to receiue the crowne of that kingdome*, Dort, 1619, sig. A3^v). Poetic fitness would have had Henry's namesake the direct ancestor of England's kings after Queen Anne died in 1714. But he was drowned in 1629 when his boat upset in Haarlem Mere. His death, not the only sorrow that Elizabeth of Bohemia knew, brought forward his sister Sophia, who, married to Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover, became the mother of George I.

⁸⁶ *Works*, II, 121-139.

⁸⁷ II, 104. Cf. II, 229 (*"To my poor Hopes wrackt in your Brother's Herse"*).

⁸⁸ *Bodleiomnema*, Oxford, 1613, sigs. C2, E3, F3^v-F4, I1^v.

⁸⁹ *Threni Exoniensium in obitum illustrissimi viri D. Iohannis Petrei, Baronis de Writtle*, Oxford, 1613, sigs. A3, C1-C1^v, D1.

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Dunbar and John Owen.⁹⁰ His death was mourned anew in the Oxford and Cambridge anthologies issued in 1619 when his mother died.⁹¹ A life singularly free from blemishes—perhaps because so brief—stood, as time passed, as the life of an ideal prince, dead ere his prime. Henry Holland's laudatory Latin sketch of Henry, published in a 1620 volume, declares that he who had seen Henry's face,

The MILDNES in it noting, and the AVE
Will iudge that PEACE, did either in her LOUE
So soone aduance hem to hir STATE aboue
Or else in FEARE that HEE would WARRE preferre
Concluded with HIM HEE should LIUE with [her].⁹²

When in 1624 Thomas Scott entered the political arena with his *Vox coeli, or newes from heaven*⁹³ to attack the Spanish match for Charles then being promoted, he projected Prince Henry and his godmother Queen Elizabeth as Protestant champions of his exposé of Catholic Spain's designs on England. A report of Spanish plotting reaches

⁹⁰ See *Epigrammaton Ioannis Dvnbari megalo-Britanni centvriæ sex, decades totidem*, 1616, sigs. B1^v, K8^v; and *Epigrammatum Ioannis Owen Cambro-Britanni Oxoniensis*, 2d ed., 1618, sig. F11^v. A list of "Guyftes and Rewardes" shows "Mr Owen the latyne poett" drawing thirty pounds from Henry's household funds (*Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. xvi).

⁹¹ See *Academiae Oxoniensis funebria sacra. Æternæ memoriæ serenissimæ reginæ Annæ*, Oxford, 1619, sigs. A2, A3^v, A4^v, B1^v, C3-C4^v, E1, F2^v, F3, G4^v, P2^v, P4^v, R2^v, R3^v; and *Lacrymæ Cantabrigienses: in obitum serenissimæ reginæ Annæ*, Cambridge, 1619, sigs. A3^v, B2^v, B3^v-B4^v, C4^v, F1, F2, F2^v, G1, H1, H3, K1, K2^v, L1^v.

⁹² *Heruologia Anglica hoc est clarissimorum et doctissimorum aliquot [sic] Anglorum qui floverunt ab anno Christi M. D. vsq. ad presentem annum M. D. C. XX vivæ effigies*, [1620], sig. D6^v.

⁹³ See above, p. 151.

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heaven, and they lead in a consultation designed to warn Englishmen against a Spanish alliance. They champion an aggressively anti-Catholic policy and a strong navy to oppose Spain. Henry, although "purified and divested of his Earthly passions," cannot "refraine from looking red with anger, and pale with feare" upon hearing of Spain's designs, such is "his never dying zeale to *Englands* ever living Glory." ⁹⁴ When Mary Tudor, "whom not her *Roman* merits, but the prayers of the *Protestants* had brought to Heauen," objects to Henry's speaking out because he is a heretic who hates Spain, Edward VI declares that his "herisie hath brought him hether to Heauen," and Queen Elizabeth adds, "I gaue him my Fathers Name, and he inheriteth my resolution and courage, and the King his Fathers wisdom, therefore he can neyther flatter nor dissemble." ⁹⁵ Even Mary is allowed to lament the decay of the English navy since England turned from "Combats, Warres and Victories" to "Stage-Playes, Maskes, Reuels and carousing, so as their courages are become as rustie as their Swords and Muskets." Elizabeth, shocked at the navy's low state, turns to Prince Henry, who speaks out:

Indeed Madam I confesse I haue seene so much my selfe, when God knowes I greued to see it; neyther did I fayle to put the King my Father often in remembrance thereof; and his Maiestie still promised me to new builde and repayre that Royall Fleete, to which number I added my *Prince-Royall*, a Ship, who had she many fellowes, England needed not feare all the Fleetes of the World.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Sig. B2.

⁹⁵ Sig. F4^v.

⁹⁶ Sig. H3.

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Henry declares it was Gondomar's influence that led James to make "*Raleighs* head to caper beyond his body." Aroused by Gondomar's tricking James in Continental politics, Henry vows:

If I were againe living in England, I would so worke with the King my Father, that this resolution of Queene *Elizabeth* [advice that James send an army to conquer the Palatinate towns], should neuer dye, but speedily bee put in execution; for it is the safest, cheapest, shortest, and Honourablest way for England; yea, what would not England doe for my deere and Royall Sister of *Bohemia*, if the King my Father, would but giue it the word of command? ⁹⁷

When "that immortall mayden Queen *Elizabeth*" and her godson, darling of the Protestants, have beaten Mary in the consultation, the latter angrily dispatches Mercury to England with traitorous letters to Gondomar and English Catholics. In such fashion does the memory of Henry as champion of aggressive Protestantism and a strong navy figure in political pamphleteering years after his death.⁹⁸

Much of the celebration of Prince Henry by his age was stock flattery of a rising sun; much came from love of his virtues and gratitude for his aid and encouragement. Henry befriended the makers of books, though not himself bookish. Bacon wrote that he "was fond of antiquity and arts: and a faviourer of learning, though rather in the honour he paid it than the time he spent upon it." ⁹⁹ Yet he "has a title to be

⁹⁷ Sig. K4^v.

⁹⁸ *Vox coeli* was popular enough to appear in at least four editions in 1624.

⁹⁹ *Works*, VI, 328.

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placed among the individual Collectors whose united efforts resulted—after long intervals of time—in the creation, eventually,” of the great library of the British Museum.¹⁰⁰ But his deepest delight was in ships, horses, and martial games. His love of sports and his quick concern for military affairs pleased the national temper; the “sober cariage of his life” won all religious hearts, especially Protestants who hoped he would lead their party.¹⁰¹ The politically astute, having early counted James of Scotland successor to Elizabeth, rejoiced that he had a male heir, the first prince of Wales since the days of Henry VIII. That great queen’s will had triumphed over the plea of her people for an heir from her body, but their longing subsisted and helped upset the delicate equilibrium of her government well before her death. Upon the peaceful succession in 1603 that justified her course by uniting England and Scotland, her godson Henry at once evoked the affection for a male heir unsatisfied in English hearts for decades.¹⁰² For the new generation James was a welcome change from the domineering old queen; but soon he was

¹⁰⁰ Edwards, *Lives*, p. 11. Because Henry died intestate, his library became James’s property. It suffered some losses, but most of it was ultimately combined at St. James’s with the “Old Royal” library of England which was given to the nation by George II in 1753. Books from Henry’s library are not often found in private hands. Some British Museum duplicates came upon the market in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately for lovers of original bindings, Henry had his volumes rebound and stamped with his arms and badges.

¹⁰¹ Francis Osborne (*Works*, 9th ed., 1689, p. 472) wrote that Henry was “saluted by the *Puritans* as one prefigured in the *Apocalypse* for *Romes* destruction.”

¹⁰² The following verses from *Northerne poems congratulating the kings maiesties most happy & peaceable entrance to the crowne of England* (1604) are typical of such affection:

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alienating many by his inability to catch the national pulse in church and parliament. His temperate and tactful son bred hopes that he would restore Elizabethan days that, now distant, seemed great and glorious. Sober, yet gracious, Henry became the hope of the land more than he would have had James been a more kingly father. For a few brief years he drew national affection such as his godmother had inspired. Men of the reformed religion looked to him to lead their faith to dominance in Europe, and Catholics sought his protection. Poets and learned men dedicated over one hundred and twenty-five books to him, celebrated his virtues, and profited from the stimulus and patronage he gave them.

Suddenly death struck him down. Lines from *Hamlet* might express the sorrow of the land:

O what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!
The courtier's, scholar's, soldier's, eye, tongue, sword,
Th' expectancy and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion and the mould of form,
Th' observ'd of all observers—quite, quite down! ¹⁰⁸

Perhaps the public felt the loss of another popular monarch like his godmother. Elizabeth, however, had died in the usual

Ovr Princesse barren from this world is gone,
(No meruaile) for she liu'd a Virgins life,
A happier change we could haue neuer none,
Then King with issue store by lawfull wife (sig. B4).

¹⁰⁸ At least one scholar thinks that in Shakespeare's "Florizel, the unstained shepherd, there is no doubt a temptation to trace the lineaments of the gallant and too early lost Prince Henry, who seems to have had the gift of touching the popular imagination more effectively than anyone else since the fall of Essex" (E. K. Chambers, *Shakespeare: A Survey*, 1935, p. 303). England's affection for Henry

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course of nature after fulfilling her destiny and nurturing a great age. That this "unmatch'd form and feature of blown youth" should be cut down at the age of eighteen perplexed even the most devout as they sought to justify God's ways to England. All the love newly aroused by a valiant prince of Wales was rudely asked to shift to frail Charles, eclipsed the while by his brother. The despair uttered by caged Raleigh as he bade farewell to his *History of the World*, inspired by Henry, seems almost touched with a premonition of grave discord in politics and religion, soon to swell unchecked into civil tragedy. Sorrow for Henry merged with the dark undercurrent of despair, even morbidity, in the decadent drama of the next decades.

As England drifted into civil war, Henry was more than ever remembered as the perfect prince by many who naturally fancied that he might have steered the ship of state past the dangerous rocks. Down through the century and into the next he is always "good Prince Henry." About 1650 Bishop John Hacket eulogized Henry: "so much Light was extinguish'd, that a thick Darkness, next to that of Hell, is upon our Land at this day. O matchless Worthy!"¹⁰⁴ The editor of *The Life and Character of Henry-Frederic, Prince of Wales* (a reworking of the Cornwallis memoirs) in 1738 dedicated his book to the prince who "in all Human Probability, had the Almighty granted Him more Days, our Fathers would never have seen the Calamities they underwent."¹⁰⁵ Exactly a century after the Restoration his formal

recalls that felt for Sir Philip Sidney, who in character was closer to Henry than was Essex.

¹⁰⁴ *Scrinia Reserata: A Memorial Offer'd to the Great Deservings of John Williams, D. D.*, 1693, p. 27.

¹⁰⁵ Sig. A3.

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biographer, Thomas Birch, writes with complete admiration, and dedicates his work to the current prince of Wales in words that hold Henry up as a model for imitation; but George III and his son after him appear to have learned little from the life of "good Prince Henry."

In recent times Henry has been the subject of one or two admiring memoirs,¹⁰⁶ and one eminent historian has written that while he lived "there was every reason to expect that the monarchy would again be vigorous, popular, actively Protestant in foreign affairs, perhaps even warlike."¹⁰⁷ Would Henry have changed the course of English history had he lived? Who knows? History, perhaps, should not beget conjecture, though, being only human, it does. If fate denied Henry the full flower of his prime, she spared him what might have been the "weary dilution and waste" of his spirit in the world. Bacon's words are wise: "Many points there were indeed in this prince's nature which were obscure, and could not be discovered by any man's judgment, but only by time, which was not allowed him. Those however which appeared were excellent; which is enough for fame."¹⁰⁸

If the value of Henry's life in our own troubled days seems at first glance remote, one may remember that his character enriched the imagination of poets who are a precious part of the civilized heritage we now strive to preserve. And his knowing at only eighteen the need of arms and ships for a

¹⁰⁶ A. E. Newton, "A Royal Book-Collector," in *The Greatest Book in the World*, Boston, Mass., 1925, pp. 167-193; and Mary Bradford Whiting, "Henry, Prince of Wales: 'A Scarce Blown Rose,'" in the *Contemporary Review*, CXXXVII (1930), 492-500.

¹⁰⁷ G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 15th ed., 1930, p. 112. Contrast the view of Gardiner, II, 159.

¹⁰⁸ *Works*, VI, 329.

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nation loving peace and wishing security reads a lesson to some of our older statesmen. Wisdom will remember what Henry gave abidingly to life, then murmur quietly,

Good night, sweet prince,
And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest!

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